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BOOK VI.

THE ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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—
Bengali

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to
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Lt. Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF EDUCATION

IN

THESE PROVINCES.

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.

अथ षष्ठाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।



BOOK SIXTIL.

CHAPTER FIRST.

एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, अचः, द्वे, प्रथमस्य, ॥

यृतिः ॥ अधिकारं प्रथम् । एकाच्च शति च है इति च प्रथमस्येति च त्रितयमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । इति दत्तरं यद्वश्यामः प्राक्संप्रसारणाविभानात् तत्रैकाच्चः प्रथमस्य द्वे भवत इत्येवं तद्वितव्यम् । वक्ष्यति लिदि भातोरन्यासरयोति । तत्र भातोरवयवस्थानभ्यासस्य प्रथमस्येकाचो द्वे भवतः ॥

1. In the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel, there are two.

Upto Sûtra VI. 1. 12 inclusive it is to be understood that for the first syllable two are to be made, i. e., the first syllable is to be reduplicated. This is an adhikâra sûtra: all the three words viz एकाचः, and द्वे and प्रथमस्य are to be read in the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 1. 12, before the rule of Samprasâraña begins. Thus Sûtra VI. 1. 8 says "when लिद् follows, of an unreduplicated verbal root". The sense of this sûtra is incomplete, unless we supply the three words of this sûtra, when it will read thus: "when लिद् follows, there are two in the room of the first portion, containing a single vowel of an unreduplicated verbal root". Thus from जागृः-जजागार (जागृ + जल् IV. 3. 82 = जा + जागृ + अ = अ + जागृ + अ VII. 4. 59 = जजागार "he awoke"). So also पैपाच्, इथाय, आर from the roots पच्, इ and अ ॥ The reduplication takes place through the force of the affix that follows. Thus the affixes of the Perfect Tense (लिद्), the Desiderative (सन्), the Intensive (यह्), the लु vikarana, the Aorist in अह्; all cause reduplication.

The word एकाच् means that which consists of one vowel (अच्) ॥ When a stem or root consists of more than one vowel (is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic root), then the एकाच् प्रथमः will be the *first syllable*: as in जागृ the portion जा is the प्रथम एकाच् 'the first portion consisting of one vowel'. When a root consists of a single vowel, as इ 'to go', then strictly speaking there cannot be any portion which may be called first (प्रथम्) or ekâch consisting of a single

vowel). Here, however, will this rule be applied and इ will be reduplicated, according to the maxim “व्यपदेशिवेकस्मिन्”—“An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach”. So also in पञ्च there is no *first* syllable strictly speaking, but still the rule will apply under the above maxim. In making Reduplications the Rule I. i. 59 should always be borne in mind. Thus पञ्च + अ (जल् of लिंग) = पाञ्च पाञ्च + अ = प पाञ्च + अ (VII. 4. 59 and 60) = पपाञ्च ॥

The word द्वि in the sūtra indicates that the very word-form is to be doubled or pronounced twice, and not that another word of similar meaning is substituted. In fact this is not a rule ordaining *substitution* of two, in the room of one; but of the *repetition* of the one. Compare VIII. i. 1.

अजादेद्वितीयस्य ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्च, आदेः, द्वितीयस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमद्वितीयनापवावो ऽयम् । अजादेद्वितीयस्यैकाच्चा द्विर्वचनमधिक्रयते । अञ्च आर्थियस्य धातो-स्तरववस्थ द्वितीयस्थैकाच्चा द्वे भवतः ॥

2. Of that whose first syllable begins with a vowel, there are two in the room of the second portion containing a single vowel.

This debars the reduplication of the *first* syllable. In a verbal root beginning with a vowel, and consisting of more than one syllable, the *second* syllable is to be reduplicated and not the first. Thus the सनन्त root अटिष्, (अट् + सन् = अट् + इट् + सन् VII. 2. 35 = अटिष्), reduplicates the second syllable टिष् and the 3rd per. sing is अटि टिष्टि, the इ being elided by VII. 4. 60 : and स changed to ए by VIII. 3. 59. So also अशिशिष्टति, अरिरिष्टति ॥ The last form is thus evolved, अ + सन् = अ + इट् + सन् (VII. 2. 74) = अर + इ + स (VII. 3. 84, and VI. 1. 51). Here now we have to make reduplication, and if I. i. 59 be applied, then since a vowel affix इ follows, the reduplication of अर should take place i. e. the टिष् the sthāni should be reduplicated. But we have explained the sūtra द्विर्वचनङ्गच्च I. i. 59, by the phrase द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽच्च, i. e. the vowel-affix causing reduplication. Here the vowel-affix इट् does not cause reduplication, but the consonant-affix सन् that does so. Therefore rule I. i. 59 does not apply, for इट् itself is a कार्यी, and the maxim applies कार्यमनुभवन्ह कार्यी निमित्ततया नार्थीयते “surely that which undergoes an operation can, so far as it undergoes that operation, not be made the cause of the application of a grammatical rule”. Thus from the root शीङ् is formed शयिता ; here the root शीङ् is gunated before the augment इट्. Rule I. i. 5 declaring the prohibition of gunation with regard to किन् or डिन् words does not apply here. For though शीङ् has an indicatory इ yet as it undergoes an operation itself, it cannot be the cause of the application of another rule.

Some persons explain the word अज्ञातिः as the Ablative singular (and not Genitive Singular) of अज्ञातः and they consider the word as a Karma-dhāraya compound and not a Bahuvrīhi compound. According to them the word means—"The syllable *following the initial vowel* is reduplicated". (असामान्यविवेक्यज्ञातिः, अज्ञातेरुत्तरस्यएकाचो है भवतः) || According to this interpretation, the word द्वितीयस्य is merely explanatory.

न न्द्राः संयोगाद्यः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, न्द्राः, संयोगाद्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयस्येति वर्णनं । द्वितीयस्यैकाचो ऽवयवभूतानां न्द्राणां तदन्तर्भावात् प्राप्तं द्विरूप्यनं प्रतिषिद्ध-
ते । नकारात्काररेफा द्वितीयैकाचो ऽवयवभूता: संयोगाद्यां न द्विरूप्यनं ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बकारस्याद्यं प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ इकारात्पथैपदेशो तु न वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ यक्तारपरस्य रेफस्य प्रतिषेधो न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ ईर्ष्यतेस्त्वतीयै है भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ कण्डुडारीनां ततीयैकाचो है भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ नामधातूनां द्वितीयस्यैकाचो है भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ यथेष्ट नामधातुष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The letters क्, द् and र् being the first letter of a compound consonant and being part of the second syllable, are not reduplicated.

The word dvitīyasya "of the second syllable", is understood here. This sūtra debars the doubling of the consonants n, d, and r when forming parts of the second syllable, provided these letters occur in the beginning of a conjunct (saṃyoga) letter. Thus the Desiderative root of उन्न॑ is उन्निष्ठ, formed by adding सन् and इ॒ ॥ The second syllable here is इ॒न्न॑ which is to be reduplicated by the last rule. But in doing so, न् will not be doubled. Thus we get the form उन्निष्ठिति; so also from अङ्ग॑ and अर्च॑ we have अङ्गुडिष्ठिति, and अर्चिष्ठिष्ठिति ॥

Why do we say "when न्, द् and र् are the letters"? Observe ईर्ष्यक्षितित्वं from इ॒क् in which क् is the initial letter and has been reduplicated in to च् ॥ Why do we say "being the first letter in a conjunct consonant"? Observe प्राणिष्ठिति from the root अ॒क् 'to breathe', the न् र् रु being changed into ष् by VIII. 4. 19 and 21. The phrase अज्ञातः of the last sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. Thus उर्द्धासति ॥ Some explain the word अज्ञातिः understood in this sūtra in the same way as in the last, namely as a karma-dhāraya, compound in the Ablative singular. They do so, in order to explain the form इ॒न्निष्ठिष्ठिति, which is thus evolved इ॒न्न॑मि छ्लाति = इ॒न्न॑ । कृश्च III. 1. 8 = इ॒न्नीय ॥ Then इ॒न्नीयतुष्मिष्ठाति = इ॒न्नीय + सन् ॥ Here though the second syllable consists of n, d and r, yet न् alone is rejected in reduplication and not द् and र् also, as द् and र् are not immediately after the *initial vowel* (अज्ञातिः) इ॒ in this case.

Vart:—This prohibition should be stated with regard to the letter र् also. As उर्द्ध—उर्द्धिष्ठिति ॥ This prohibition applies when the word is taught primarily as having a penultimate र् ॥ But when it is taught as primarily

having a penultimate ए, then the rule does not apply: the ए should then be ordained as a substitute of ए॥ See Tūdādi root 20.

Vārt:—There is no prohibition of the ए when it is followed by ए॥ Thus अर्थते॥ This is the Intensive form of the verb ए, and is thus evolved: ए+ए॒ (III. 1. 22. Vārt)=अर्+ए (VII. 4. 30)=अर्य, then follows reduplication by the rules of this sūtra. The second syllable ए has an initial ए which is not however rejected in reduplication.

Vārt:—In the case of the verb ईर्ष्यति the third should be reduplicated. “Third of what”? Some say the third of the consonants, and according to them the form is ईर्ष्ययिष्यति॥ Some say the third syllable, therefore of the root ईर्ष्य (ईर्ष्य+इर्+सू), the third syllable ए is reduplicated: Thus ईर्ष्ययिष्य, ईर्ष्ययिष्य (VII. 4. 79) the ए of ए is changed into short ई by VII. 4. 79=ईर्ष्ययिष्यति॥

Vārt:—The third syllable of the verbs कण्डूय &c. is to be reduplicated. Thus कण्डूय+इर्+सू=कण्डूयिष्य=कण्डूययिष्यति; so also असूययिष्यति &c.

Vārt:—The third syllable of verbs derived from nouns is optionally reduplicated. Thus अर्शीययिष्यति or अर्शार्शीययिष्यति॥

Vārt:—Others say, any syllable of a नामधातु (verbs derived from nouns) may be reduplicated. Thus from the noun पुञ्च is derived the root पुञ्चीय, the desiderative root of which is पुञ्चीयिष्य, which requires reduplication. Here any syllable may be reduplicated: as. 1. पुञ्चीयिष्यति, 2. पुञ्चियिष्यति, 3. पुञ्चीयायिष्यति, 4. पुञ्चीयिष्यिष्यति॥ Or there may be double and treble reduplication simultaneously as. पुपुञ्चीयिष्यिष्यति॥

पूर्वोऽभ्यासः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वः, अभ्यासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वे इति प्रथमान्तं वदनुवर्त्तते तत्तर्थादिह पञ्चमान्तं जायते । तत्र प्रत्यासत्तेरस्मन्प्रकरणं ये द्वे विहिते तथोर्यः पूर्वोऽव्यवः सोऽभ्याससंज्ञा भवति ॥

4. The first of the two is called the Abhyāsa or the Reduplicate.

The word द्वे in the nominative case is understood here, but for the purposes of this sūtra it is taken in the Genitive case i. e. द्वयोर्यः पूर्वः “the first of the two” ordained above. The word Abhyāsa occurs in sūtras III. 1. 6, VI. 1. 7 &c.

उभे अभ्यस्तम् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, अभ्यस्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वे इति वर्तमाने उभेप्रहणं समुदायसंज्ञाप्रतिपञ्चर्थम् । ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे अपि समुदित अभ्यस्तम् तत्ते भवतः ॥

5. The both are collectively called Abhyasta.

Though the word द्वे was understood in the sūtra, the use of the word उभे ‘both’ indicates that the word Abhyasta applies to the two taken together and not to any one of them separately. The word abhyasta occurs in sūtras III. 4. 109, VI. 1. 32 &c. Thus sūtra VI. 1. 189 declares “the first vowel of

an Abhyasta gets the udâtta accent". The Abhyasta being the collective name of the both, the accent will fall on the first and not on the second, as in इत्वाति dâdati, the accent is on the first अ ॥ So also by VII. I. 4 अत् takes the place of इ after an Abhyasta, therefore, इत् + इति = इत् + अति = इत्वाति ॥ So also इत् (VI. 4. 112).

जाक्षित्यादयः पद् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जक्ष, इत्यादयः, पद् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यस्तामीति वर्तते । जक्ष इत्यथं धातुरित्यादयश्चान्ये पद् धातवो इयस्तसंज्ञा भवन्ति । सेयं सप्तानां धातूनामध्यस्तसंज्ञाविधीयते ॥ जक्षभक्षहसनयोरित्यतः प्रभाति वैवीड् वेतिना तुल्यइति आवत् ॥

6. So also the six roots beginning with jakshi are called abhyasta.

The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhâtupâṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जाग्, इरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, हैषी, and वैवी ॥ Pânini has overlooked वैवी and mentions only the first six. By getting the designation of Abhyasta these verbs get acute accent on the first syllable when followed by a sârvadhâtuka Tense-affix not having the intermediate इट् and beginning with a vowel. Thus जाप्ति ja-grati, जैक्षति jâkshati, इरिद्राति dâridrati, चैकासति châkâsati, शौशाति sâsati, वैष्यते dîdhyate, and वैवृत्यते vevyate. The present participle दीप्तयत् is irregularly formed by adding the affix शत् (अत्) and when so formed it does not take the augment तुम् by VII. I. 78.

तुजादीनां दीघोऽभ्यासस्य ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुज, आदीनाम्, दीर्घः, अभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुजादीनामीतिप्रकारेजाइशिवः । कश्च प्रकारः । तुजेदीघोभ्यासस्य न विहितः, इट्यते च, वे तथा-भूतस्ते तुजादयस्तेषामध्यासस्य दीर्घः साधुर्भवति ॥

7. In the room of a short vowel of the Reduplicate of the roots तुज् &c, a long is substituted.

There is no list of तुजादि verbs given anywhere. The word आदि in तुजादि therefore should be construed as "verbs like tuj". So that wherever we may find a word having a long vowel in the Reduplicate, we should consider it a valid form. Thus तूतुजानः (तुज् + कानच् III. 2. 106—तूतुजानः Rig. I. 3. 6), मामहानः, अनङ्गान् राधार, स्वधां भीमाय-स तूताव ॥ This lengthening only takes place in the Vedas before some special affixes, and not every where or in secular literature. As तुताज शबलान् हीन् ॥

लिटि धातोरेनभ्यासस्य ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटि, धातोः, अनभ्यासस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिटि परतो इन्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्येकाचोः द्वितीयस्य वा यथायोगं द्वै भवतः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ द्विर्वचनप्रकारणे छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ लिर्दिर्वचनं जागतेवेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. When the tense-affixes of the Perfect follow, there is reduplication of the root, which is not already reduplicated.

The reduplication is either of the first syllable or of the second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus पच् + जल् = पच् पच् + जल् = पपाच ॥ So also पषाठ, प्रोर्णुनाव ॥ In the case of ऊर्णु, Rule III. 1. 36 does not apply, so the Perfect of this word is not formed by adding आम् and the auxiliary verbs कृ, मू and अस्; but regularly. In fact ऊर्णु is regarded as if it was तु ॥ See sūtra III. 1. 36 Vārt. वाच्य ऊर्णोर्णुवद् भावो यहु प्रासद्धिः प्रयोजनं, आमम् प्रातंषेधार्थम्-काश्चेदुपमहात् ॥

Why do we say when लिद् follows? Observe कर्ता, हर्ता ॥ Why do we say "of a Dhātu"? Observe ससृतांसो विशृण्वरे, सोममिन्द्रायसुन्विरे ॥ The question arises from the fact that the root (dhātu) always directly precedes the affixes of the Perfect, no vikaraṇa intervenes as in the case of other tenses. So there was no necessity of using the word dhātu in the sūtra. To this it is replied that by III. 4. 117, sometimes लिद् is treated as sārvadhātuka, and then it takes vikaraṇa. As शृ॒ taking the vikarana इतु becomes शृष्टु; (III. 1. 74) this whole base is not a dhātu, therefore when the affixes of Perfect are added there is no reduplication, and we have शृन्विरे ॥ See III. 4. 117.

Why do we say 'of a non-reduplicate'? Observe कृष्णो नोनाव वृषभो यती-इष् । नोनृथतेनोनाव, i. e. it is the Perfect Tense of the Intensive verb नोनृय, and is not reduplicated again, यहु having already caused reduplication. So also संमान्या महतः समिक्षुः ending in the उस् of the Perfect.

Vārt :—In the Chandas there is optionally reduplication of the root in the Perfect and other tenses. As आश्चित्यान् याच्चित्यामहे or यियाच्चित्यामहे, देवतानो शति प्रियाणि or दशाति प्रियाणि ॥ मधवा शतु or दशतु, नस्तुतो वीरवद् धातु or दधातु ॥

Vārt :—The root जाग् is optionally reduplicated in the Perfect. As, यो जागार (or जजागार) तस्यः कामयन्ते ॥

सन्यडोः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन् यडोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरनभ्यासस्थ्यति वर्तते । सन्यडार्तिं च षष्ठ्यन्तमेतत् । सत्रन्तस्य यडन्तस्य चानभ्यासस्थ्य धातोरवयवस्थ्य प्रथमस्थ्यकाचां द्वितीयस्थ्य वा वर्थायोगं द्वे भृततः ॥

9. Of a non-reduplicate root ending in सन् (Desiderative) or यहु (Intensive) affixes, there is reduplication.

The word सन् यडोः should be construed as genitive dual and not as Locative dual. In the latter case, the meaning would be "when the affixes सन् and यहु follow, a non-reduplicate root is reduplicated". The difficulty would be that while the root alone would be reduplicated, the augment इहु would not, as in अटिषिष्ठति, अशिषिष्ठति ॥

The phrase धातोरनभ्यासस्थ्य is understood here also. The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or vowel. Thus पच् + सन् (III. 1. 7) पक्ष, reduplicate विष्पत्ति (VII. 4. 79). So पत्

पिपतिषति. अ—भरिर्विति, उन्न—उन्निविषति ॥ So also of यडन्तः—as, पापच्छते (VII. 4. 83), अदाच्छते, आवज्यते, अरार्थते, प्राणोनृश्चते ॥ If a root is already a reduplicated one, there is no reduplication : as जुगुप्सश्चते, लोल्यिषते being the Desiderative forms of जुगुप्स (already formed by svârthika सन् III. 1. 5), and of लोल्य (the Intensive form of लु) ॥ See III. 1. 22.

इलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ इलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लौ परतो इन्न्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो हितीयस्य वा यथायोगं है भवतः ॥

10. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the vikarana slu (श्लू) follows.

The श्लू is the characteristic sign of the roots of the third class, and causes the elision of the vikarana शप् ॥ The reduplication is of the first or second syllable, according as the root has an initial consonant or a vowel. Thus श्वेति (from ह), विभूति, जिह्वैति ॥

चडि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ चडि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चडि परतो इन्न्यासस्य धातोरवयवस्य प्रथमस्यैकाचो हितीयस्य वा यथायोगं है भवतः ॥

11. Of a non-reduplicate root there is reduplication when the affix चड् of the Aorist follows.

The reduplication is of the first or second syllable according as the root begins with a consonant or a vowel. Thus अपीपच्छन्, अपीपडन्, (VII. 4. 93 and 94). So also आर्दित्, आशिशन्, आर्दिसन् ॥ These are aorists of the causative roots पार्चि &c.

When the Reduplicated Aorist of the Causative (प्यन्ते) verbs पच् &c is to be formed, as here, we should first elide the causative sign णि, then shorten the penultimate vowel, and then reduplicate. Then by VII. 4. 93 the effect would be like as if सन् had followed, and this would not be prohibited by the short vowel being considered sthâniyat. For rule VII. 4. 93 says "Let the effect be as if सन् had followed, on the reduplicate, if followed by a light vowel, of an inflective base to which णि followed by चड् is affixed; provided there is not the elision of any letter in the pratyâhâra अक् occasioned by the affixing of णि ॥" One of the conditions for the application of this rule is that the reduplicate must be followed by a *light* vowel. We have said above that the long penultimate is to be shortened before चड् ॥ Now arises the difficulty. Should this light vowel coming in the room of a heavy vowel be considered like the heavy vowel by the rule of sthâniyat âdesa (I. 1. 56), or not? It should not be considered so, for the reasons given in I. 1. 57. For it was established there that the sthâniyatdbhâva will arise there only when some operation is to be done to a thing *anterior* to the non-substituted i. e. original vowel. Here no operation is to be applied to something *anterior* to such original (अनातिष्ठ) vowel, but to

a form consisting of such substituted (आशिष्ट) vowel. Therefore, the light vowel is not considered non-existent for the purposes of सन्तवज्ञाव ॥ If this order of operation is not followed, there would arise incongruities. The order must be this: 1st the elision of ए (VI. 4. 51) 2nd the shortening of the penultimate (VII. 4. 4) 3rd the reduplication. If the reduplication take place first and the vowel be shortened, then the reduplication having taken place before the substitution of the vowel had taken place, such substitute will now be considered as sthānivad: the *light* vowel being considered as still *heavy*, will prevent the application of सन्तवज्ञाव ॥ The difficulty will be in the form of आशीशमत्, where the short is ordained after the ए ॥ If this be the order of operations, there will not be the reduplication of the second syllable ए in the word अटिटू? This is, however, done by I. 1. 59. which see.'

दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीड्वान्थं ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश्वान्, साह्वान्, मीड्वान्, च ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ दाश्वान् साह्वान् मीड्वानित्येते शब्दाशठन्दसि भाषायां चार्यविशेषणं निपात्यन्ते ॥
शास्त्रिकम् ॥ कृभावीनां के द्वे भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ चरिच्छिपतिवर्तीनां द्वित्वमध्यक्चाम्यासस्य ॥
वा० ॥ वंति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ हन्तेर्वत्वं च ॥ वा० ॥ पादोर्णलुकं चाकु च दीर्घभाम्यासस्य ॥

12. The participles *dâsvân*, *sâhvân* and *mîdhvân* are irregularly formed without reduplication.

The word *दाश्वान्* is from the root *दाश्* 'to give' with the affix *क्षसु* (III. 2. 107), here the reduplication and the augment *इ* are prohibited irregularly. As *शाश्वासो* शाश्वुषः शुतम् (Rig I. 3, 7). The word *साह्वान्* is derived from the root *सह्* 'to endure', by adding the affix *क्षसु* (III. 2. 107), the irregularity being in lengthening the penultimate, not allowing the augment *इ* and the reduplication. Thus *साह्वान् बलाइकः* ॥ So also *मीड्वान्* comes from *मिड्* 'to sprinkle' with the affix *क्षसु* (III. 2. 107) the irregularity consisting in non-reduplication, non-application of *इ*, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel, and the change of *इ* into *ए* ॥ As *मीड्वस्तोकाय तनयाय शृदय* ॥ It is not necessary that these words should be in the singular always; in their plural forms also they do not reduplicate.

Vārt:—Reduplication takes place when *कृम्* &c, are followed by the affix *क* ॥ Thus, *कियतं अनेन = कृ + क = चकम्*, *किद् + क = चिक्किम्* ॥ The affix *क* comes after *कृम्* and *किद्* with the force of the affix *घम्* ॥

Vāt:—The roots *चर्*, *चल्*, *पत्*, and *वद्* take reduplication when followed by the affix *अच्* (III. 1. 134) and the reduplicate (*abhyâsa*) takes the augment *आकु* ॥ The final consonants of the *Abhyâsa* (reduplicate), are not elided in these verbs, in order to give scope to the augment, for if the final consonants be elided by VII. 4. 60, then the addition of the augment becomes unnecessary; as there is no difference between the augment and the *ādesa* (shortening of the vowel) taught in VII. 4. 59. Thus *चराचरः*, *धलाचल*, *पतापतः*, *वशावदः* ॥

Vart :—The above *vartika* is optional, so we have the forms चरः पुरुषः; अलो रथः, वंशो भवुष्यः &c.

Vart :—The root हन् is reduplicated before the affix अच्, and the augment आङ् comes after the *Abhyāsa*, and इ is the substitute of ई of the *Abhyāsa*. Thus हन् + अच् = घन् + आङ् + हन् + अच् = घनाधनः (The second इ is changed into ए by VII. 3. 55), as in the phrase घनाधनः क्षोभनश्चर्षणीनाम् ॥

Vart :—The causative root पादि is reduplicated before the affix अच्, there is elision of णि (sign of the causative), and एङ् is the augment of the *Abhyāsa*, and it is lengthened. Thus पादि + अच् = पादूपः ॥

अयडः संप्रसारणं पुत्रपत्न्योस्तथुरुपे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अयडः, संप्रसारणम्, पुत्र, पत्न्योः, तत्पुरुषे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रं पाति इत्येवाहत्तरपद्योस्तथुरुपे समासे अयडः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥
वार्तात्क्रम ॥ अयडः संप्रसारणं गौकाशाश्राः पर्तिरेपः ॥

13. There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix अयडः (IV. 1. 78) when followed in a *Tatpurusha* compound, by the words पुत्र and पर्ति ॥

When the words पुत्र and पर्ति are the second members, forming a *Tatpurusha* compound, there is *samprasāraṇa* (vocalising the semi-vowels) of the affix अयडः of the preceding. That is य् is changed into ई ॥ Thus कारीष्यस्थं गन्धी-अयडः-करीषगन्धः (a *Bahuvrīhi* compound taking the *samāsanta* affix or rather substitute ई by V. 4. 137) कारीषगन्धपर्यन्थः = करीषगन्धिः + अण् (IV. 1. 92) = कारीषगन्धः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding अयडः (IV. 1. 78). Thus we have कारीषगन्धा (see IV. 1. 78). Now in forming the *Tatpurusha* compound of this word with पुत्र or पर्ति, the final य् will be changed into ई and we have कारीषगन्धी-पुत्रः, कारीषगन्धीपर्तिः ॥ The आ of आ becomes merged into ई (VI. 1. 108), and the short ई is lengthened (VI. 3. 139). So also कौमुदिगन्धीपर्तिः o कौमुदिगन्धीपर्तिः ॥

Why do we say "of the affix अयडः"? Observe इयापुत्रः, भवियापुत्रः ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुत्र or पर्ति"? Observe कारीषगन्धा-कुलम्, कौमुदिगन्धी-कुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a *Tatpurusha* compound"? Observe कारीषगन्धापतिरस्य मामस्य कारीषगन्धापतिरस्य धामः ॥ It is a *Bahuvrīhi* compound.

The affix अयडः is here the feminine affix य् followed by आप् (आ) (see IV. 1. 77 and 74).

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself: प्रत्ययहर्ण अस्मात् स विहितस्तसंहस्तान्तरम् ग्रहेत् ॥" This maxim, however, does not apply in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever

it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word form is subordinate: स्त्रीप्रस्त्रं चानुपसर्जने न ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगल्याशः पुत्रः = परमकारीषगल्यापुत्रः and so also अतिकारीषगल्यापतिः ॥ Not so when the word is an upasargana or subordinate in a compound. As अतिकारीषगल्याशः = अतिकारीषगल्या, तस्यपुत्रः = अतिकारीषगल्यापुत्रः, अतिकारीषगल्यापतिः ॥

This vocalisation takes place when पुत्र and पति alone, not compounded with any other word, stand at the end: not so when a word beginning or ending with these words follows. Thus कारीषगल्यापुत्रकुलं, कारीषगल्यापरमपुत्रः &c.

Though a word ending in षड् may have may semi-vowels, yet the vocalisation takes place of the affix ए (षड्) only, according to the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्वरं त्वा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated".

The word संप्रसारण has regulating influence upto VI. 1. 44 inclusive. The rules of vocalisation (change of semi-vowels into vowels) is contained in these sūtras.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when पति and पुत्र follow the word गौकाक्षय ॥ As गौकाक्षयापुत्रः, गौकाक्षयामातः instead of गौकाक्षयित्रः &c.

बन्धुनि बहुत्रीहौ ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धुनि, बहुत्रीहौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षड्: संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्तते । बन्धुशब्दउत्तरपदं बहुत्रीहौ समासे षडः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥ शा० ॥ मातच्चमातृकमातृपु ॥

14. There is vocalisation of the affix षड् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrihi compound.

Thus कारीषगल्याचबन्धुर्य = कारीषगल्यीबन्धुः ॥ So also कौसुदगल्यीबन्धुः ॥

Why do we say "When the compound is a Bahuvrihi"? Observe कारीषगल्याचबन्धुः = कारीषगल्याचबन्धुः, which is a Tatpurusha compound. Like the last sūtra, we have here also परमकारीषगल्याचबन्धुः, but अतिकारीषगल्याचबन्धुः, कारीषगल्याचबन्धुः, कारीषगल्यापरमबन्धुः ॥

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of षड् in a Bahuvrihi compound with मातच्, मातृक and मातृ optional: as कारीषगल्यामातः or कारीषगल्यामातैः, कारीषगल्यामातृः or कारीषगल्यामातृकः, कारीषगल्यामाता, कारीषगल्यामाता ॥ The indicatory ए of मातच् makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI. 1. 163), thus debarring the especial accent of the Bahuvrihi (VI. 2. 1). All Bahuvrihi compounds ending in षड् take the samāsānta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V. 4. 153, so the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional.

वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृचि, स्वपि, यजादीनाम्, किति ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणमिति वृत्तिं । ष्ठड़ इति निवृत्तम् । वचि । वच् परिभाषणे । लुटो वचिरिति च । स्वपि ॥ ग्रिष्मप् शये । यजादया, यज इवपूजासंगतिकरणदानेविवित्यतःप्रभृतौ भा गण्यतात् । तेषां वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

15. The semivowels of the roots वच्, स्वप् and यजादि verbs are vocalised when followed by an affix having an indicatory क ॥

The anuvritti of ष्ठड़ does not run into this sūtra. The root वच includes the वच परिभाषण of the Adādi class (II. 54) and the वच् substitute of लुट (II. 4. 53) स्वप् is the root ग्रिष्मप् शये of the Adādi class (II. 59). The यजादि verbs are the last nine roots of the Bhvādi class viz. यज्, वप्, वह्, वस्, वेष्, व्यम्, हृम्, वद् and विः ॥ The semivowels of these eleven verbs are changed into the corresponding vowel, when an affix having an indicatory क is added to them. Thus with the Past Participle affixes त्वं and त्वत् we have the following forms:—
 1. वच्—उत्त्वः, उत्त्वत्वात्, (VIII. 2. 30). 2 स्वप्—स्वप्त्वः, स्वप्त्वत्वात् 3 यज्—इटः, इट्वत्वात्, (VIII. 2. 36) 4 वप्—उप्तः, उप्त्वत्वात्, 5 वह्—ऊह्तः, ऊह्त्वत्वात् (VIII. 2. 31, 40, VIII. 3. 13 and VI. 3. 111) 6 वस—जपितः, जपित्वत्वात्, (VII. 2. 56 VIII. 3. 60) 7 वेष—उत्त्वः, उत्त्वत्वात्, 8 व्यम्—संवीतः, संवीत्वत्वात्, 9 हृम्—हृत्वः, हृत्वत्वात्, 10 वद्—उदितः, उदित्वत्वात्, 11 दुश्चान्त्र—द्वान्तः, द्वान्त्वत्वात् ॥

प्राता स्वरूपप्रहरे तत्प्रत्ययं काशि विज्ञायते:—When in a Grammatical rule, an operation (dependant on an affix) is taught with regard to a root (dhātu) by mentioning particular verbs (dhātū) specifically, and not by using the word "dhātu" generally, then the operation takes place only when the root is followed by such an affix as can be added to roots by enunciating the word भान्तः ॥ The existence of this maxim is inferred in the formation of the word भाण्हत्वयन् in VI. 4. 174, w. ch sec. Therefore, there is no vocalisation of वच् in the following वाच्यान् वाच्यिकः ॥ Here वाच्यान् is formed by adding क्वच् to वाच् (वाचुनिर्दर्शन) ॥ वाच् is formed by द्विष् added to वच्, the vowel being lengthened and सुप्रसारणा being expressly prevented by उपादि II. 57. Now, it is a general rule that a root taking the affix क्विप्, विट्, or विच does not lose its character of a dhātu. Therefore वाच् is a root (भान्त), and it ought to take vocalisation before the affix वक्षण् ॥ But वक्षच् is not enunciated to come after a dhātu, but after a युद्धत्वा (युद्धभान्तः वक्षच् III. 1. 8) in the rule ordaining its affixing. So also वाच्यिकः formed by adding ठक् to वाच् (See Vārt. V. 3. 83).

अहिज्यावैयिव्यपियपित्विचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृजतीनां डिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहि, ज्या, वयि, व्ययि, वष्टि, विचृति, वृश्चति, पृच्छति, भृजतीनाम्, डिति, च ॥

शृन्तः: ॥ यह उपदाने, ज्या वयोहानां, वेषो वयिः, व्यय ताडन, वश आलनां, व्यव व्याजा त्वण, औंव्रश्चृच्छन, प्रच्छ ज्ञीप्त्यायां, असज पांक, इत्येतेषां भातुनां डिति प्रत्यये परतः वक्षणां काति च रोप्रसारणं भवति । परिभाषा ॥ निष्ठावैयः पत्वस्वप्रत्ययां वधीं द्विष्टु पित्वावक्तव्यः ॥

16. There is vocalisation of the semi-vowels of the following verbs, when an affix having an indicatory क् or ऽ follows:—अह 'to take', ज्या 'to become old', वेञ् 'to weave', व्यध 'to strike', वश 'to shine', व्यच 'to deceive', वश्च 'to cut', प्रच्छ 'to ask', and अस्ज 'to cook, to fry'.

By force of the word 'ए' 'and', the anuvritti of किति is read into this sūtra. Thus 1. अह—एहीतः, एहीतवान् (by न् and न्तवतु), गृष्णात् (I. 2. 4), अरीभृत्यते (by य॑ of the Intensive). 2. ज्या—जीनः, जीनवान् (VIII. 2. 44 त changed to न), जिनाति (I. 2. 4), the short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2 and is shortened again by VII. 3. 80. जीर्णायते (य॑), 3. वश—The root वेष्ट is replaced by वश when लित् follows (II. 4. 41). This वश can have no डित् affix after it, it takes only लित् terminations, which as we know are कित् (I. 2. 5). The examples, therefore given will be of कित् affixes only. Thus अथतुः, अयुः ॥ Now arises this question 'why do you enumerate वशि, for is not वश् (for which वशि is substituted) already included in यजादि class of verbs given in the last sūtra, and by force of that sūtra, वशि will get samprasāraṇa before कित् affixes?'. The reply is "वशि is numerated here in order to show that the prohibition of samprasāraṇa with regard to वश् as taught in VI. 1. 40, does not apply to its substitute वशि in the Perfect Tense". Thus while the Perfect of वशि is वश्वा, वश्वतुः, वशुः, the Perfect of its substitute वशि is ऊवाय अथतुः and अयुः ॥ More over VI. 1. 38 teaches that the य of वशि is not vocalised in लित् affixes, which therefore, implies (jñāpaka) that the other semiyowel i. e. व of वशि will be vocalised. 4. व्यध—विच्छः, विद्वत्वान्, and with डित् affixes व्यथति, वेव्ययते ॥ 5. वश—उशिनः, उशितवान्, and with डित् affixes उष्टः, उशन्ति ॥ 6. व्यच—विचातः, विचतवान्, विचात् वेविच्यते ॥ By a Vārtika under I. 2. 1, the word व्यच is considered to belong to कुटादि class, and therefore all affixes after it, other than those having an indicatory ण्, ऽ or the affix अस्, are considered as डित्, and therefore, there will be samprasāraṇa before these affixes; as, उर्द्ध्वाता, उर्द्ध्वचितुम्, उर्द्ध्वचनव्यम् ॥ 7. वृश्च—वृकणः, वृकन्वाद् ॥ How is the final च of व्रश changed into क् for by VIII. 2. 36 च ought to have been changed into ष before the यजादि affix न्? To this we reply the affix न् is replaced by न् (VII. 2. 42) and as this न् is not a यजादि affix, Rule VIII. 2. 36 does not apply. This is done on the following maxim: "The substitute of the Nishṭhā should be considered to be siddha or effective when applying the rules relating to 'the change of a letter into ष, to accent, to औ affix, and to the addition of the augment इ॒'". But when च is to be changed into क्, the substitute is considered as idha (not to have taken place). Thus we have the forms वृकणः &c. Before डित् affixes we have वृष्टिति, वरीवृश्यते ॥ 8. प्रच्छ—पृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), पृष्टवान्, डित्—पृच्छति, परीपृच्छत्यते ॥ The forms पृद्धच्छः and वश्चञ्जा would have been evolved by the simple rules of Reduplication even, without the

application of this rule. But प्रच्छ + नह् (III. 3. 90) = नहनः ॥ Here there is no vocalisation, because Pāṇini himself uses the word प्रहनः in sūtra III. 2. 117 showing that this is the proper form though irregular. 9. भस्त्र—भृष्टः (VIII. 2. 36), भृष्टान्, किन्—भृजति, वरी भृजयते ॥ The स of भस्त्र is changed first into इ by ग्रन्तं जश सांस (VIII. 4. 53), and then it is changed into अ by स्तोः इभुना वस्तुः (VIII. 4. 40).

लिङ्ग्यभ्यासस्योभयेषांम् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गि, अभ्यासस्य, उभयेषांम्, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृक्षिः ॥ उभयेषां वाच्यादीनां ग्रहादीनां च लिङ्गि परतो अभ्यासस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

17. There takes place vocalisation of the semi-vowel of the reduplicate (abhyāsa) of both vāchyaādi (VI. 1. 15) and grahādi (VI. 1. 16) words, when the affixes of लिङ्ग follow.

Thus वच—उवाच, उवाश्चिथ, स्वप्—सुष्वाप, सुष्वपिथ, यज—इयाज, इयजिथ, द्वप—उवाप, उवर्पिथ ॥ As regards महादि verbs; मह—जग्मह, जग्महिथ (there is no speciality in case of this verb, as these forms would have been evolved without even this rule). उद्या—जिज्ञाय, जिज्ञिथ, नयि—उवाय, and उवयिथ; व्यध—विव्याध, विव्यधिथ, वश—उवाश, उवशिथ, व्यच—विव्याच, विव्याचिथ, व्रथ—वन्नव्रथ and वर्त्तव्रथ ॥ Some say that with regard to व्रथ, it is equal whether there existed this present rule or not. For they argue thus, व्रश + णल् = व्रशः व्रश्य + अ = व + व्रश्य + अ (हलादि रोषः VII. 4. 60) = वन्नव्रथ ॥ To this we reply, this form would be evolved no doubt had this rule not existed. But when this rule is applied, and you make reduplication without first vocalising the ए, then you will have to vocalise ए by force of this rule. Hence the necessity of this rule with regard to व्रथ also, for having changed ए into अ, we have वन्नव्रच and then change अ into ए by VII. 4. 66. Then this ए substitute becomes sthānivat एक (I. 1. 59), and therefore there is no vocalisation of this ए, for rule VI. 1. 37, prevents the vocalisation of a letter standing before one which has already been vocalised. There is no speciality with regards to प्रच्छ and भ्रस्त्र verbs.

This vocalisation of the reduplicate is taught with regard to those affixes which are not किन् ॥ With regard to किन् affixes, the Rule VI. 1. 15 will apply. And as the rule of vocalisation is subsequent to that of reduplication in order, therefore by the maxim of परत्वं I. 4. 2, vocalisation will take place first and then reduplication, according to the maxim पुनः प्राङ्ग विज्ञानात्सिद्धम् “occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded by a subsequent rule”. Thus वच् + धतुः (which is किन् I. 2. 5) = उच्च + धतुः = उच्च + उच्च + धतुः = अच्चतुः, अतुः ॥

Though the phrase उभवशाम् could have been supplied into this sūtra by the context and the governing scope of the preceding sūtras, its express mention in this sūtra is for the sake of indicating, that the rule of vocalisation supersedes even the rule of हलादि: शेषः VII. 4. 60, the vocalisation must take place at all events. Thus स्वप्न + चल् = स्व + स्वप्न + ल् ॥ Here by VII. 4. 60, the second consonant ल् of चल् ought to have been elided, and the equation would have stood स्व + स्वप्न + ल्, and there would have been vocalisation of ल् by this rule. But that is not intended; there is vocalisation of ल् and we have विव्याध ॥ In fact, the universal maxim of vocalisation is :—“The samprasāraṇa and the operations dependent on it possess greater force than other operations which are simultaneously applicable”. संप्रसारणं तत्त्वाधयं च कार्यम् बलवत् ॥

स्वापेश्वाङ्गि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वापेः, चलिः, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वापेति स्वपेण्यन्तस्य प्रहरणं तत्य चलिः परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

18. Of the causative verb स्वापि “to cause one to sleep”, there is vocalisation of the semivowel, when the affix चल् of the Reduplicated Aorist follows.

Thus the Aorist of स्वापि is असूपुष्ट, असूपुष्टाम्, असूपुष्टन् ॥ The vocalisation takes place before reduplication, then there is guṇa of the penultimate short vowel, then this is again shortened by VII. 4. 1, then there is reduplication, and then lengthening of the vowel of the reduplicate by VII. 4. 94. Thus स्वापि + चल् = सुपि + चल् = सुप् (VI. 4. 51) + चल् (VII. 3. 86) = सोप् + चल् (VII. 4. 1) = सु + सुप् + चल् (VI. 1. 11) = सूपुष्ट (VII. 4. 94) which with the augment अ becomes असूपुष्ट ॥

Why do we say ‘when चल् follows?’ Observe स्वाप्यते, स्वापितः ॥ The anuvritti of किति has ceased, that of डिति however is here.

स्वपिस्यमिव्येजां यडिः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि, स्यमि, व्येजाम, यडिः, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भिष्वप् शय स्युषु स्वन चहृत्, व्येज् संवरणं, इत्येतत्पां धातृतां यडिः परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

19. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the verbs स्वप् ‘to sleep’, स्यम् ‘to shout’, and व्येज् ‘to cover’, when followed by the affix यडिः of the Intensive.

Thus सोपुष्टते, सोसिम्येत, वैवीयते (VII. 4. 25 the short इ is lengthened). Why do we say ‘when यडिः follows?’ Observe स्वपक् formed by नुजिह् III. 2. 172.

न वशः ॥ २० ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यडिति वर्तते । वशोद्वातोर्यडिः परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

20. There is not vocalisation of the semi-vowel of वश, when the affix यडिः follows.

The word अङ्गि is understood here. As वावइयते, वावइयते, वावइयन्ते ॥ Why do we say "when अङ्गि follows"? Observe उष्टः, उश्निं ॥ See VI. I. 16 to which this rule is an exception.

चायः की ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चायः की ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यर्डीति वर्तते । चक्रिपूजानिशामनयार्थत्यस्य धातोर्यंडिपरतः कीत्ययमोश्चो भवति ॥

21. The verb की is substituted for the verb चायू 'to worship, to observe', when the Intensive affix यङ्गि follows.

The phrase यङ्गि is understood here. Thus चेकीयते, चेकीयते, चेकीयन्ते ॥ The exhibition of की in the sūtra with a long ई indicates that there is long vowel even in tenses where अङ्गि is elided, as चेकीतः ॥ For if the sūtra had enunciated कि with a short ई as the substitute of चायू, the forms चेकीयत &c would have been still valid. Thus कि + यङ्गि = चि + कि + य = चे + कि + य = चे + की + य (VII. 4. 25 causing the lengthening of the short ई). But then the Nishṭhā would have been चेकीतः which is wrong.

स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फायः, स्फी, निष्ठायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फाती ओप्याती वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः स्फीत्ययमदिशो भवति ॥

22. The स्फी is the substitute of स्फाय 'to swell', when the Nishṭhā affixes follow.

Thus स्फीतः, स्फीतवान् ॥ Why do we say "when the Nishṭhā affixes follow"? Observe स्फाती: formed by निर्कृत ॥ In the phrase स्फाती भवति, the word स्फाती is the feminine of the word स्फाति formed by निर्कृत ॥ The phrase निष्ठायाम् "when the Nishtha follows" governs all the subsequent sūtras up to VI. I. 29.

स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्यः, प्र, पूर्वस्य, (सम्प्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायामति वर्तते सप्रसारणमति च । स्ता इत्येतत्र स्वर्यते । स्त्यै अच्छै शब्दसंघातयोर्द्वयोरप्येत्यो द्वात्वा: स्त्यारूपमापत्रयोः सामान्यं ग्रहणम् । स्त्या इत्येतत्स्य प्रपूर्वस्य धातोर्निष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

23. The verb स्त्या (स्त्यै औ अच्छै) when preceded by प्र changes its semivowel to a vowel, when a Nishṭhā affix follows.

The phrases "when the nishthā follows", and "there is vocalisation" are understood here. The anuvritti of स्फी does not run here. The roots' स्त्यै and अच्छै both assume the form स्त्या and are included here. Thus प्र + स्त्या + त् = प्र + स्ति + त् (VI. I. 108) = प्रस्तीतः (VI. 4. 2), and प्रस्तीतवान् ॥ The त् of nishṭhā affix would have been changed into न् by VIII. 2. 43 in as much as the root स्त्या has a semivowel and ends in long आ ॥ But by the vocalisation of अ, the condition of अप्रवर्त् for the application of VIII. 2. 43, no longer existing, the affix त् is not changed to न् ॥ But त् is optionally changed to न् by VIII. 2. 54 as प्रस्तीमः and प्रस्तीमवान् ॥

Why do we say "when preceded by प्र?" Observe संस्त्यानः (VIII. 2. 43), संस्त्यानवान् ॥ If it was intended that vocalisation should take place when प्र

singly stood before, then the sūtra could well have run thus प्रस्त्वः ॥ The use of the word पूर्वस्त्र implies that the rule applies when प्र stands first, though other upasargas may intervene between it and the root. Thus प्रसंस्तीतः, प्रसंस्तीतश्चान् ॥ The compound प्रपूर्वस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi = प्रः पूर्वे यस्य धातुप्रसर्ग-समुदायस्य स प्रपूर्व (that which consisting of root and upasarga is preceded by प्र is called प्रपूर्व). Therefore the rule is made applicable to प्रसंस्तीतः &c.

द्रवमूर्तिस्पर्शयोः इयः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रवमूर्ति, स्पर्शयोः, इयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रवमूर्त्तौ द्रवकाटिन्ये स्पर्शे वर्त्तमानस्य अयं गतावित्यस्य धातानिष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

24. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of the root इया (इयै) ‘to go’ when the nishṭhā affixes follow, when the sense is “coagulation” or “cold to touch”.

The word द्रवमूर्ति means hardening of a fluid, by coagulation &c. Thus शीतं घृतं, शीता वसा, शीते मेदः “a coagulated butter, grease &c”. The त of nishṭhā is changed to न by VIII. 2. 47. But when the sense is that of ‘cold’, the त is not changed; as शीतं वर्त्तते, शीता वायुः, शीतमुदकम् ॥ The word शीत is here used both as a noun meaning ‘cold weather &c’ and an adjective denoting ‘cold’. There is no vocalisation when the sense is not that of ‘coagulation’ or ‘cold’, as संदृश्यानो वृश्चकः ‘the rolled up scorpion’. The short इ is lengthened in शीत &c, by VI. 4. 2.

प्रतेश्च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इय इति वर्त्तते । प्रतेरुत्तरस्य इयायतेनिष्ठायां परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

25. There is vocalisation of इया preceded by the upasarga प्रति, when the nishṭhā affixes follow.

Thus प्रतिशीनः प्रतिशीनश्चान् ॥ This sūtra applies to cases where the words need not have the meaning of “coagulation” or “cold”.

विभाषा अभ्यवपूर्वस्य ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अभि, अव, पूर्वस्य, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अय इति वर्त्तते । अभि अव इत्येवपूर्वस्य अयायतेनिष्ठायां विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

26. There is optionally the vocalisation of इया followed by the Nishṭhā affixes, when the upasargas अभि and अव precede it.

Thus अभिशीनम् or अभिदृश्यानम् घृतं, अवशीनम् or अवदृश्यानम् वृश्चिकः ॥ This option applies even when the word means “coagulation” and “cold”. As अवशीन or अवदृश्यानं घृतं, मेदः ॥ अवशीता or अवदृश्यानो वायुः, &c. अवशीत or अवदृश्यानमुदकः ॥

The पूर्व in this sūtra serves the same purpose as in VI. 1. 23. Thus अभिसंशीन or अभिसंदृश्यानं, अवसंशीन, अवसंदृश्यानं ॥ According to the author of Siddhānta Kaumudi, the word पूर्व shows that it is a vyavasthita vibhāshā, hence there is no option allowed when अभि and अव are in the middle, as, समभिदृश्यानं, समवदृश्यानं ॥ Here we cannot have the alternative forms समभिशीन &c.

शृतं पाके ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृतम्, पाके, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्यनुवर्तते । आ पाके इत्येतस्य धातोर्यन्तस्याप्यन्तस्य च पाके ऋभिर्देवे नप्रत्यये परतः
शृभाषा निपात्यते विभाषा ॥

27. Optionally शृत is formed in the sense of 'cooked', by the vocalisation of the semivowel of आ before the nishṭhâ affix क् ॥

The word विभाषा is understood here. The roots आ 'to cook' of the Bhvadi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Adâdi class, and आ 'to cook' of the Bhvâdi sub-class Ghaṭâdi, are meant here. In all these, शृ replaces आ, whether causative or not. Thus शृतं क्षीरं, शृतं हविः ॥ This is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ ; so that आ is invariably changed to शृ when referring to क्षीर and हवि, but not anywhere else. Thus आगा यवागूः, अपिता यवागूः (VII. 3. 36 and VI. 4. 92). This word does not take double causative though the sense may require it. As अपितं क्षीरं देवहस्तेन अज्ञवत्तेन "Devadatta through Yajñadatta has caused the milk to be cooked". The आ is intransitive. When the sense is that of Reflexive, or Causative, there the form शृत is to be used. As शृतं क्षीरं स्वयमव, शृतं क्षीरं देवहस्ते ॥

प्यायः पी ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्यायः, पी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेत्येव । ओप्यायी वृद्धावित्यस्य धातोर्मित्रायां विभाषा पीत्यमावेशो भवति ॥

28. पी is optionally the substitute of the root प्याय् 'to increase' before the Nishṭhâ affixes.

The root ओप्यायी वृद्धी belongs to Bhvâdi class. The indicatory ओ shows that the affixes त and तवत् are changed into न and नवत् (VIII. 2. 45). Thus पीनं मुखम्, पीनौ बाहू, पीनमूरः ॥ The option here is also a regulated option (vyavasthita-vibhâshâ). The substitution takes place *invariably* when the root is without upasarga, and *never* when it is preceded by an upasarga. Thus प्रप्यानः, आप्यानश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ The substitution, however, must take place when the preposition आऽङ् precedes the root, and the words अन्युः and ऊप्तस् are in composition : as आपीनोन्युः, आपीनमूरः ॥

लिङ्गडोश्च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यडोः, च, (पी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषेति निवृत्तम् । प्यायः पीत्येतश्चावेनानुकृप्यते । लिङ् यडिं च परतः प्यायः पीत्यमावेशो भवति ॥

29. There is substitution of पी for प्याय् when the affixes of the Perfect (लिङ्) and the Intensive (यड़) follow.

The anûrvitti of the word विभाषा ceases. The phrase प्यायः पी of the last sûtra is drawn into this by force of the word च 'and'; thus आप्याये, आप्याते, आप्यिते ॥ The substitution of पी a subsequent rule, would have debarred reduplication which precedes it in order. The reduplication, however, takes place after the substitution, by force of the maxims of उनः प्रसङ्ग &c men-

tioned in VI. i. 17. Thus शी + लिं॒ = पि + शी + त् = पि + प्य + ए (VI. 4. 82 the अ being substituted) = आपि॒ये with the affix आ. So also in the Intensive, as आपि॒यते, आपे॒यते, आपे॒यन्ते ॥

विभाषा इवेः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, श्वेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गङ्गोरिति वर्तते संप्रसारणमिति च । लिं॒ थडि॒ च इयते॒र्द्धते॒र्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ।

30. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel of श्वि before the affixes of the Perfect and the Intensive.

The phrases लिङ्गयडः and संप्रसारणं are to be read into this sūtra. Thus शुश्वाय or शिश्वाय, शुश्वतुः or शिश्वयतुः ॥ So also in the Intensive as शीश्वयते or शाश्वी॒यते ॥ The root श्वि would not have taken vocalisation before अह् by any previous rule, this sūtra teaches optional vocalisation. The root would have taken vocalisation before लिं॒, which is a किंतृ॒ affix, invariably by VI. i. 15, this sūtra modifies that by making the substitution optional. In the alternative, when the root does become vocalised, the reduplicate is also not vocalised in spite of VI. i. 17. This explains the form शिश्वाय, which by VI. i. 17 would have been शुश्वाय ॥ श्वि॒ + णल्॒ = (शु॒ उह॒ + णल्॒ VI. i. 30) = शु॒ + णल्॒ (VI. i. 108) = शु॒ + शु॒ + अ॒ (VI. i. 8) = शुश्वाय ॥

णौ॒ च संश्वडोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ णौ॒, च॒, सन्॒, चडोः, (संप्रसारणम्,) ॥ -
वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषां॒ इवोरिति वर्तते । सन्वरे॒ च इ॒ परे॒ च॒ णौ॒ परतः॒ श्वयते॒र्द्धते॒र्विभाषा संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

31. There is optionally the vocalisation of the semivowel, in the causative of श्वि, when followed by the Desiderative सन् and the Aorist चड् affix.

The phrase विभाषा श्वेः is understood here. In forming the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist forms of the Causative of श्वि, there is optional vocalisation. Thus शुश्वायिषति or शिश्वायिषति ॥ So also in the Reduplicated Aorist चड्, as अशुश्वतुः or अशिश्वयतुः ॥ By the maxim संप्रसारणं संप्रसारणाश्रयं च बलीयो भवति (see sūtra VI. i. 17), the ántaranga substitution of Vriddhi &c is superseded by the samprasāraṇa and the subsidiary operations relating to it here. The vṛiddhi and the substitution of आव take place after the samprasāraṇa has taken place. The sūtra VI. 4. 80 teaching the substitution of इ॒ for the उ॒ of the reduplicate, when सन् follows, shows by implication that the substitution caused by णि॒ is sthānavat though it itself does not cause reduplication (I. i. 59). Thus श्वि॒ + णि॒ = श्वै॒ + इ॒ = श्वाय॒ + इ॒ = श्वाय॒ ॥ In reduplicating श्वाय we cannot form श्वाश्वाय, but must consider the substitute equal to the original इ॒ of श्वि॒ and must reduplicate it. We thus get शिश्वायिषति ॥ In the case of vocalisation, the rules of Vriddhi &c are postponed. Thus श्वि॒ + णि॒ + सन्॒ (VI. i. 108) = शु॒ + णि॒ + सन्॒ = शौ॒ + इ॒ + सन्॒ = शाव॒ + इ॒ + सन्॒ = शाव॒यि॒ + सन्॒ ॥ Here we requ-

ire reduplication. Here the substitute आव् in शाव् though not *caused* by सन्, is treated sthānivat under I. 1. 59 to इ, which is carried in reduplication. Similarly the Aorist: श्विन् + णि + चङ् = शु + इ + अ = शु + शु + इ + अ = शु + शौ + इ + अ = शु + शाव् + इ + अ = शु + शाव् + इ + अ (VII. 4. 1) = शु + शाव् + इ + अ (VI. 4. 51) = अशुशावत् (VII. 4. 94).

ह्वः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जौ च संश्लेषिति वर्तते । सन्परे चङ् परे च यो परतो ह्वः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

32. There is the vocalisation of the semivowel of the causative of *hve* (ह्वे) before the Desiderative and the Reduplicated Aorist affixes.

The whole of the last sūtra is to be read into this sūtra. Thus जुहाव-यिषति and जुहावयिषत्, जुहावयिषन्ति; अजूहवत्, अजूहवत्, and अजूहवन् ॥ The root ह्वा does not take the augment य required by VII. 3. 37 before the affix णि, because the Samprasārana rule is stronger. The repetition of the word संप्रसारण in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the force of the word विभाषा has ceased. Though this and the next sūtra could well have been made one, their separation shows that the samprasārana does not take place when another affix, not causing reduplication, intervenes. As ह्वायकमिच्छति = ह्वायकीयिषति; the Desiderative of this verb is जह्वायकीयिषति ॥

अभ्यस्तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तस्य, च, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्व इति वर्तते, तद्ब्यस्तस्य चेत्येन व्यधिकरणम्, अभ्यस्तस्य यो ह्वयिति, कश्चाभ्यस्तस्य ह्वयिति, कारणं, तेनाभ्यस्तकारणस्य ह्वयते: प्रागेव द्विर्वचनात्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

33. There is vocalisation of the semivowel of ह्वा in the reduplicated form, in both the syllables.

The abhyasta means the reduplicate and the reduplicated, both the syllables. The vocalisation takes place before reduplication. Thus जुहाव, जोहूयते, and जुहूषति ॥ This and the last sūtra are one, in the original of Pāṇini, they have been divided into two by the authority of a Vārtikā.

बहुलं छन्दसि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (संप्रसारणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्व इति वर्तते । छन्दसि विशेष ह्वयतेर्द्वातो बहुलं संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

34. In the Chandas, the semivowel of this root is diversely vocalised.

Thus हुवे or ह्वायमि, as इन्द्राग्नी हुवे 'Invoke Indra and Agni'. इवं सरस्वती हुवे ॥ The form हुवे is Atmanepada, Present tense, 1st Pers. sing. the vikarana शप् is elided, then there is vocalisation and substitution of उवङ् ॥ So also ह्वायमि महतः शिवान्, ह्वायमि विश्वान् देवान् ॥ So also ह्वः as शुधीहयम् (Rig I. 2. 1.) 'hear the invocation'.

चायः की ॥ ३५ ॥ पूदानि ॥ चायः, की ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुलं छन्दसीति वर्तते । चार्थेद्वार्ताश्छन्दसि विषये बहुल कीत्यमादेशो भवति ॥

35. For चंय् is diversely substituted की in the Chhandas.

Thus त्रिधुना तचिक्युः, नान्यं चिक्युर्न निचिक्युरन्यम् ॥ These are forms ending in the affix उस् of the Perfect. Sometimes there is no substitution. As अप्रिक्योतिर्निचायः ॥

अपस्पृथेथामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजश्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्ताः ॥ ३६ ॥
पूदानि ॥ अपस्पृथेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्,
आशीः, आशीर्ताः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्पृथेथाम् आनृचुः आनृहुः चिच्युषे तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीर्ताः, एतेनिपातन्ते
छन्दसि विषये ॥

36. In the Chhandas, the following irregular forms are met with :—अपस्पृथेथाम्, आनृचुः, आनृहुः, चिच्युषे, तित्याज, श्राताः, श्रितम्, आशीः and आशीर्ताः ॥

The word छन्दसि is understood here. From the root स्पृर्द 'to challenge', is formed अपस्पृथेथाम् being the Imperfect (लङ्), 2nd Pers. Dual, Atmanepada : there is reduplication of the root, vocalisation of र्, and the elision of अ irregularly. As, इन्द्रभ विष्णो अपस्पृथेथाम् ॥ In secular language the form is अपस्पृथेथाम् ॥ Some say, it is derived from स्पृर्द with the preposition अ, the vocalisation of र्, the elision of अ, and the non-prefixing of the augment अट् in the Imperfect (VI. 4. 75). The counter-example of this will be अपास्पृद्धे-थाम् ॥ From अर्च and अहं 'to respect, to worship', are derived आनृचुः and आ-नृहुः in the Perfect before the 3rd per. pl. उस्, there being vocalisation of र् and the elision of अ irregularly. Then there is reduplication, then अ changed to अ, then the lengthening of this अ, then the addition of the augment न, as : अर्च + उस् = अर्च + उस् = अ + अर्च + उस् = अ + अर्च + उस् (VII. 4. 66) = आ + अर्च + उस् (VII. 4. 70) = आ + न + अर्च + उस् (VII. 4. 71) = आनृचुः ॥ The irregularity consists in the samprasārṇa with the elision of अ ॥ Thus वदना अर्कमानृचुः, न वस्तुन्यानृहुः ॥ The secular forms will be आनृचुः, आनृहुः ॥ The form चिच्युषे is the Perfect 2nd per. sing. of the root च्युङ् 'to go' : there is vocalisation of the reduplicate, and the non-addition of the augment इट् before the affix से ॥ This is the irregularity. The regular form is चुच्युषिषे ॥ The form तित्याज is the Perfect of त्यज्, the vocalisation of the reduplicate is the irregularity. The regular form is त्यजाज ॥ From the root श्रीङ् 'to cook', is derived श्राता before the Nishṭha affix, श्री changed to श्रा irregularly. 'As' श्रातास्त इन्द्रसोमाः ॥ The form श्रितं is also derived from the same root by shortening the vowel with the same affix. As सोमो गौरि अधिश्वितः, श्रिता नो गृहाः ॥ Some say the श्रा substitution of श्री takes place when the word refers to सोम, in the plural, and श्रि when it refers to other

than सोम् ॥ Sometimes the word आतः is seen in the singular, referring to objects other than सोम् । Thus यदि शातो जुहोतन् ॥ In fact, the exhibition of the word आतः in the plural in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary. The words आशीर् and आशीर्त्तः are from the same root शी, with the prefix आङ् and taking the affixes क्रिए् and क्त respectively. Before these शी is replaced by शीर्, and the non-addition of न in the Nishṭhā is irregular. As, तामाशीरा दुहन्ति आशीर्त्त अङ्गर्ष, शीर्त्तैर्मध्यत आशीर्त्त ॥

न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संप्रसारणे, सम्प्रसारणम् ॥
वृत्ति ॥ संप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न भवाति ।
मार्चिकम् ॥ क्तचिं ब्रह्मतपदादिलोपद्धत्तन्वसि ॥ वा० ॥ रथ्यर्थतौ बहुलम् ॥

37. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

Thus व्यथ्; has two semi-vowels व् and य्; when य् is once vocalised into इ, the preceding व् will not be vocalised into उ ॥ Thus we have विष्णः ॥ From व्यच्—विचितः, व्यज्—संवीतः ॥ Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found preceding a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñapaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI. 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व् being changed to उ, the य् is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when the उ of यु, and उ the samprasāraṇa of व् coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long उ for the two उ's and this is sthānivat to the original, the य् and उ of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthānivat (See I. 1. 58). Even though it be considered as sthānivat, it is still a separating letter.

Vart:—There is vocalisation of the semivowel of वि� when followed by क्तच्, and there is elision of the क्त of क्तच्, when it refers to Metres. As तिक्तची यस्मन्=तृचं सुक्तं ॥ तृचं साम् ॥ The word तृच् takes the samāsānta affix उ by V. 4. 74. Why do we say when referring to a metre? Observe स्थृचं कर्म ॥

Vārt—In the Chandas there is diversely vocalisation of the semi-vowel of रथि followed by the affix मत् as रथि + मत् = रइ + मत् = इ + मत् = इ + इ-१-यत् (VIII. 2. 15) = रेवत्; as, आ रेवान्तु नो विशः ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as रथिमान् पुष्टिर्द्वनः ॥ The म here is not changed to व as required by VIII. 2. 15.

Vārt—There is vocalisation of कश्या before मत् when a Name is meant: as कक्षीवन्तं य औचिजः ॥ This Vārtika is unnecessary. See VIII. 2. 12 where the form कक्षीवत् is given.

लिंदि वयो यः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिंदि, वयः, यः (संप्रसारणम् न) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ न संप्रसारणमित्यनुवर्त्तते । लिंदि परतो वयो यकारस्य संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

38. In the substituted root वय (II. 4. 41), the य in the Perfect is not vocalised.

The phrase न संप्रसारणं is understood here. Thus उवाय, ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ The word लिंदि is employed in this aphorism for the sake of subsequent sūtras, this one could have done well without it even.

वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वः, चै, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, किति ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य वयो यकारस्य किति लिंदि परतो वकाराणांशो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥

39. Before the tense-affixes of the Perfect that have an indicatory क (I. 2. 5), for the य of वय may optionally be substituted a व ॥

Thus ऊयतुः or ऊवतुः, ऊयुः or ऊयुः ॥ According to Pātanjali, the phrase वश्चास्य of this sūtra could have been dispensed with; this much would have been enough:—अन्यतरस्यां किति वेचः ॥ Thus वै + अतुस् = वा + वा + अतुस् = ववलुः and ववुः (the vocalisation being prohibited). In the alternative:—वा + अतुस् = उ + अतुस् = उ + उवङ्ग + अतुस् (VI. 1. 77) = ऊवतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Here there is vocalisation. In the case of वय substitute, the य is never vocalised, so we have ऊयतुः, ऊयुः ॥ Thus all the three forms have been evolved without using वश्चास्य ॥

वेचः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वेचः (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिंदियनुवर्त्तते । वेचः तन्तुसंतानात्यस्य भातोलिंदि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

40. The semivowel of वे ‘to weave’ is not vocalised in the Perfect.

Thus वैवौ, ववतुः, ववुः ॥ This root belongs to यजादि class and would have been vocalised before कित् affixes by VI. 1. 15; and before non-कित् affixes the Reduplicate syllable of the Perfect would have been vocalised by VI. 1. 17. Both vocalisations are prohibited here.

ल्यपि च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, च, (संप्रसारणम्, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेचः इत्यनुवर्त्तते । ल्यपि व परतो व्येचः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

41. The semivowel of वे is not vocalised when the Participial affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus प्रवाय, उपवाय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of श्वप् only runs.

ज्यश्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यः, च, (संप्रसारणम् न्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । ज्या वयोऽशानावित्यस्य धातोल्पर्यपि परतः संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

42. The semivowel of ज्या 'to grow old' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

Thus पञ्ज्याय, उपञ्ज्याय ॥

व्यश्च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यः, च, (संग्रसारणम्, न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपीत्येव । व्येभ् संवरणइत्येतस्य धातोल्पर्यपि परतः द्वंप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

43. The semivowel of व्या (व्ये) 'to cover' is not vocalised when the affix ल्यप् follows.

As प्रव्याय, उपव्याय ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvritti of व्ये runs.

विभाषा परेः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, परेः, (सम्प्रसारणम्, न) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि च व्यश्चेत्यनुवर्त्तते । परंरुत्तरस्य व्येभित्येतस्य धातोल्पर्यपि परतो विभाषा संप्रसारणं न भवति ॥

44. The vocalisation may optionally take place when व्ये preceded by परि takes the affix ल्यप् ॥

Thus परिवीय शूपम् or परिव्याय ॥ The augment तुक् presented by VI. 1. 71 is debarred by VI. 4. 2. which causes the lengthening of the vowel: since VI. 4. 2 is subsequent to VI. 1. 71.

आदेच उपदेशो अशिति ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, एचः, उपदेशो, अशिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ धातो रिति वर्तते । एजन्तो यो धातुरुपदेशो तस्याकारादेशो भवति शिति तुःपत्यये न भवति ॥

45. In a root, which in the system of grammatical instruction (i. e. in the Dhātupāṭha), ends with a diphthong (ए, ऐ, ओ and औ), there is the substitution of आ for the diphthong, provided that no affix with an indicatory श् follows it.

The word धातोः is to be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 8. Thus ग्लौ-
ग्लाता, ग्लातुम्, ग्लातव्यम्, शौ—निशाता, निशातुष्, निशानव्यष् ॥ Why do we say ending with an एच् (diphthong)? Observe कर्ता from क्, and हर्ता from ह् ॥ Why do we say in upadeśa or Dhātupāṭha? Observe चता, स्तोता where च and स्तो are not the forms taught in the first enunciation of the root in the Dhātupāṭha, but are secondary forms. Why do we say, before non-शित् affixes? Observe ग्लै-शप् + तिष् = ग्लायति, ग्लायति ॥ Exception is, however, made in the case of the affix एश् of the Perfect: as जग्ने, मग्ने ॥ This is explained by interpreting the word शित् as शिदाति, that is the affixes having an indicatory श् in the beginning: एश् has श् at the end. This is done on the maxim योस्मन् विभूत्सत्तावावल् महणे "when a term which denotes a letter is exhibited in a rule in the form of the Locative

case, and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the Locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question and not as ending with it".

The word अशिति is an example of प्रसञ्जप्रतिषेधः a simple prohibition of a contingent case. Therefore, the substitution of आ for एच् vowels, is not caused by the affixes that follow, but must take place prior to the occasion for the application of the affixes arises. Thus III. 1. 136 ordains क after roots ending in आ; so that न्मै and न्मै are presupposed to end in आ when applying this affix: thus सुरः, सुमः ॥ Similarly by III. 3. 128 we apply अच् to न्मै and न्मै by presupposing it as आदन्त roots: as सुरानः, सुमानः ॥

The word आ is understood in all the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 1. 57

न व्यो लिटि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, व्यः, लिटि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यञ्ज इत्येतस्य धातोर्लिटि परत आकारादेशो न भवति ॥

46. There is not the substitution of आ for the Diphthong of the root व्ये when the affixes of the Perfect follow.

Thus संविद्याय, संविद्ययिथ ॥ The reduplicate of the Perfect is vocalised here by VI. 1. 17. The Vriddhi in संविद्याय takes place by VII. 2. 115 before the जित् affix णत् ॥

स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घजि ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फुरति, स्फुलत्योः, घजि, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहेच इति वर्तते। स्फुर स्फुल चलनइत्येतयोर्द्वाच्चरेचः स्थाने घजि परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

47. In the roots स्फुर् and स्फुल् 'to move', there is the substitution of the आ for the diphthong when the affix घज् follows.

Thus विस्फारः instead of विस्फोरः, and विस्फालः instead of विस्फोलः ॥ By VIII. 3. 76, the स is optionally changed to ए after वि, as विष्फारः, and विष्फालः ॥

श्रीड्जीनां णौ ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री, इड्ज, जीनाम्, णौ, (आत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डुक्कीअ इत्यविनिमयं, इड् अध्ययनं, जि जयं, इत्येतेषां धातूनामेचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

48. The substitution of आ for the diphthong takes place in the causatives of the roots क्री 'to by', इ 'to study' and जि 'to conquer.'

Thus क्राप्यति, अध्याप्यति and जाप्यति ॥ The augment ए is added by VII. 3. 36, since these roots end in long आ ॥

सिद्ध्यतेरपारलौकिके ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिद्ध्यते:, अपारलौकिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जावितिवर्तते। षष्ठु हिंसासंराज्ञधो रित्यस्य धातोरपारलौकिकिर्ये वर्तमानस्यैचः स्थाने णौ परत आकारादेशो भवति ॥

49. The substitution of आ takes place for the diphthong in the causative of सिध्, when it does not refer to the next life.

The word पारलौकिक is derived from परलोक 'the next world' by adding the affix एव with the force of 'for the sake of' (V. i. 109). The double Vṛiddhi takes place by VII. 3. 20. The sense of the word सिध् must refer to अज्ञान or non-intelligent things for the purposes of this substitution. Thus अन्नं साधयति, पापं साधयति ॥ Why do we say when not referring to the next world? See तपस्तापसं सेधयति, स्वान्यवनं कर्मणं सेधयन्ति ॥ The force of सिध् is here that of knowledge, तापसः सिद्धति = ज्ञानावशेषमासाद्यति ॥ The ascetic acquires certain knowledge through austerities, the knowledge so acquired produces its result in the next world (परलोक) i. e. the next life, therefore, the साधन of the ascetic is for the sake of the next life, and so there is no substitution of आ for ए ॥ Why the substitution does not take place here: अन्नं साधयति, ब्राह्मणं योदास्थामि 'he causes food to be prepared for the purpose of giving to the Brahmanas'. Here though the gift of the food produces effect in the next world, yet as that is the effect of ज्ञान and not of the verb सिध्, the substitution does not take place. When the verb सिध् directly and not through the mediation of another action, produces pāraloukika effect, then the substitution does not take place. The verb सिध् here belongs to the Divādi class and not to the Bhvādi, as the form सिध्यति in the sūtra shows it.

मीनातिमिनोतिदीडां ल्यपि च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ मीनाति, मिनोति, दीडाम्, ल्यपि, च ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ आदेच उपदेशाति वर्तते । मीम् हिसायाम्, दुमिभ् प्रक्षेपणे, हीड् क्षय, इत्येतेषां धातृनां स्थापि विषय चकारोद्यथ विषय उपदेशात् प्राक् प्रत्ययोत्पन्नरात्यस्य स्थानं ग्राकारोद्यशो भवति ॥

50. And there is substitution of आ for the finals of मी 'to hurt', मि 'to scatter', and दी 'to decay' when the affix ल्यप् follows, as well as before those affixes which demand this substitution for the diphthong.

By force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra, the substitution takes place of the diphthongs also of these verbs before all affixes other than शित्, and this substitution takes place, before the occasion for the applying of the affixes arises (उपदेशावस्थायाम् आत्मं भवति) ॥ So that these verbs should be understood as if they were enunciated with an आ, so that all rules of affixes relating to आ will apply to them. Thus प्रमाता, प्रमातव्यम्, प्रमातुम्, प्रमाय, निमाता, निमातुम्, निमायतव्यम्, निमाय, उपशाता, उपशतव्यम्, उपशतुम्, उपशय ॥ The substitution of आ being understood to have taken place in the very उपदेश (in the dhātupāṭha) of

these roots, the affixes relating to roots ending in इ or ई do not apply to these at all. Thus उपत्त्या वर्तते, ईष्टुपश्चनं, formed by घञ् and युञ् by taking शी=आ and adding these affixes (III. 3. 128 and III. 3. 18) and not the affixes अच् (III. 3. 56) and खल् (III. 3. 126).

विभाषा लीयतेः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, लीयतेः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थापानि वर्तते, आईच उपेशश्चति च । लीड् श्लेषणहति दिवादिः ली श्लेषणहति कथादिस्तयार्थं भावारपि यका निरेशः स्मर्यते । लीयतद्वार्तात्तर्त्याप च एच्छ विषय उपेशश्चार्वालान्वस्य स्थानं विभाषा आकारं दशो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ निमीमिलियां खलचोः प्रतिष्ठेण वक्तव्यः ॥

51. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the final of ली 'to adhere', in the very dhātupāṭha, when the affix लयप् follows or such an affix as would demand this substitution of the diphthong.

The final of ली will take guṇa substitution before शित् affixes, and will become ले, this incipient diphthong ए is changed to आ by this rule. The same is the case with all the roots subsequently taught, thus खिद् will be खेद्, and then ए changed to आ, गुर्=गोर् and ओ changed to आ &c. Therefore we have employed the anuvṛtti of एच् 'diphthong' in all sūtras. The words स्थाप and आईच उपेश are understood here. The roots ली belonging to Divādi and Kriyādi are both included here. Thus विलाता, विलातुम्, विलातव्यम्, विलाय, विलेता विलेतुम्, विलेतव्यम् and विलीय ॥

Vart:--The आ substitution does not take place when the affix अच् (III. 3. 56, III. 1. 134) and खल् (III. 3. 126) come after नि, मि, मी and ली : as, ईष्टनिमयः, निमयो वर्तते । ईष्ट विलयः, विलयो वर्तते ॥

The ली invariably takes आ substitution when the sense is that of 'showing respect,' 'deceiving' or 'insulting'. As क्रस्त्वामुल्लापयते, इयनो वर्त्तिकामुल्लापयते ॥ The option allowed by this aphorism is a restricted option (vyavasthita-vibhāshā). The substitution of आ for the final of ई is *optional* when the sense of the root is not that of 'showing respect', 'subduing' or 'deceiving'. But when it has any one of these three senses, the substitution is *compulsory*. See I. 1. 70.

खिदेश्छन्दसि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिदेः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषति वर्तते । खिदेश्चन्दस्य धातुरचः स्थानेः छन्दसि विषय विभाषा आकार आदितो भवति ॥

52. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the verb खिद् 'to suffer pain', in the Uthandas.

The word विभाषा is understood here. Thus चित्तं चिखाव or चिखेत ॥ In secular literature we have चित्तं खेयति ॥

अपगुरो णमुलि ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप, गुरः, णमुलि, (आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युरी उद्यमनैत्यस्य धातोरपप्रूर्वस्य णमुलि परत एचः स्थाने विभाषा आकार गांशो भवति ।

53. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root गुर ‘to exert’ when preceded by the preposition अप and taking the affix णमुलि ॥

The affix णमुलि forming the Absolutive Participle is added by III. 4. 22, and the word formed by it is repeated. Thus अपगारमपगारम् or अपगारमपगारम् ॥ So also this affix is added by III. 4. 53: as, अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते or अस्यपगारं युध्यन्ते “they are fighting with raised swords”.

चिस्फुरोणी ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चि, स्फुरोः, णौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चिस् स्फुर इत्येत्योद्दाव्याणी परत एचः स्थान विभाषा आकारांशो भवति ॥

54. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the roots चि and स्फुर when in the Causative.

Thus चापयति, चाययति (VII. 3. 36 for the addition of प्) so also स्फोरयति or स्फारयति ॥

प्रजने वीयने ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, वीयने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जावीत वर्तने । वी गतिप्रजनकान्यसनखाइनेतु इत्यस्य धातोः प्रजन वर्तमानस्य णौ परतो विभाषा आकारांशो भवति ।

55. There is optionally the substitution of आ in the room of the diphthong of the root वी in the causative, when meaning ‘to conceive an embryo’.

The root वी Adādi 39 means ‘to go, to conceive, to shine, to eat, and to desire’. The substitution takes place when it means ‘to impregnate or conceive’. Thus पुरो वातो गा: प्रवापयति or प्रवाययति = गर्भ आकृति ॥ The word प्रजन means the receiving of the embryo which in course of time will lead to the birth of a child.

विभेतेहेतुभयं ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभेतेः, हेतुं भये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जावति वर्तते विभाषते च । हेतुरिह पारिभाषिकः स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रथोजकसन्तो यद्यम्, स यस्य भयस्य साक्षात्कृतुः, तद्यथं हेतुभयम् । तत्र वर्तमानस्य विभी भयैत्यस्य भज्ञोणी परतो विभाषा आकारांशो भवति ॥

56. There is optionally the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root भी ‘to fear’, in the Causative, when the fear is produced directly through the agent of the causative.

The words णौ and विभाषा are understood here. The word हेतु in the sūtra is the technical meaning स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रथोजक (I. 4. 54 and 55). When the

Hetu Agent himself is directly the cause of the fear, that fear is called the हेतुभय “the fear caused by the ‘Hetu’”. Thus मुण्डो भापयते (VII. 3. 36) or भीषयते (VII. 3. 40). So also जटिलो भापयते or भीषयते ॥ This root takes the affixes of the Atmanepada, by I. 3. 68; and the augment ष is added by VII. 3. 40, which does not come when there is आ substitution, for the भी in VII. 3. 40 is equal to भी + ई i. e. भी ending in ई; and means भी ending in ई takes the augment ष ॥

Why do we say ‘when the agent of the causative is the producer of the fear?’ Observe कुञ्चिकर्यैनं भावयति देवदत्तः ॥ Here the fear is produced from the कुञ्चिका and not from Devadatta the Agent.

नित्यं स्मयते: ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, स्मयते: ॥

वृत्ति ॥ इणाविति वर्तते, हेतुभयति च । नित्यमहणादिभाषेति निवृत्तम् । स्मिद् ईषद्दसनहत्यस्य धातोर्हेतु-
भयर्थे औ परतो नित्यमाकरणेशो भवति ॥

57. There is invariably the substitution of आ for the diphthong of the root स्मि ‘to smile’ in the Causative, when the astonishment is produced directly through the Agent of the Causative.

The words जौ and हेतुभय are both understood here. The word नित्य shows that the anuvritti of विभाषा ceases. Thus मुण्डोजटिलो वा विस्मापयते ॥ Otherwise we have कुञ्चिकर्यैनं विस्माययति ॥ The word भय here is taken to mean स्मयते i. e. ‘wondering, feeling astonished’. See I. 3. 68 where also this meaning has been extended to भय by its connection with भीसि together; the proper word ought to have been हेतुस्मये in connection with स्मि, and हेतुभये in connection with भी ॥

सृजिहशोर्जलयमकिति ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृजि, दशोः, ह्लालि, अम्, अकिति ॥
वृत्ति ॥ सृज विसर्गे, दशिर् प्रेक्षणे, इत्येतयोर्जात्वार्जलावाकिति प्रत्यये परतो इमागमो भवति ॥

58. The augment अम् (अ) comes after the क्षु of सृज् ‘to create’, and दृश् ‘to see’, when an affix beginning with a क्ष्ट् letter (the Mute and the Sibilant) follows: provided that it has no indicatory क् ॥

Thus सृज् + दृश् = सृ + अ + ज् + दृ = क्ष्ट् nom. sing. क्षष्टा, so also क्ष्टुम्, क्ष्टव्यम्, द्रृष्टा, द्रृष्टुम्, द्रृष्टव्यम् ॥ This अम् augment prevents the गुण substitute ordained by VII. 3. 86. But in अद्राक्षीत् and अद्राक्षीत् the Vṛiddhi takes place in the Aorist, after the augment अम् had taken effect.

Why do we say when beginning with a Mute or a Sibilant? Observe सर्जनम्, इश्वनम् with यु ॥ Why do we say not having an indicatory क्? Observe क्ष्टः, दृशः before the affix क्ष् ॥ The forms of roots being exhibited in the sūtra, the rule applies when affixes relating to verbs come after these, and not when other affixes relating to nouns follow. Thus रज्जुसृज्याम्, देवृष्टग्याम् ॥ Here the words are used as nouns rather than verbs. For the maxim धातोः स्वरूपमहेन
क्षयस्यये कार्यं applies here.

अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, छ्रुत, उ पधस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपदेशाद्वित वर्तते, श्ल्यमकितीति च । उपदेशो अनुदात्तस्य धातोर्भकारोपधस्य झलाशावकिति प्रत्यये परतो अन्यतरस्यामसागमो भवति ॥

59. The augment अम् comes optionally after the अः of those roots which are exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as anudātta, when such roots end in a consonant having a अः as penultimate, and are followed by an affix beginning with a mute or sibilant and not having an indicatory क् ॥

The word उपदेश is understood here, so also श्ल्यमकिति ॥ Thus अमा or तपिता or तप्ता, द्रमा, दंपता or दम्पा ॥ The roots तृष्ण 'to satisfy', and दृष्ण 'to be happy to release', belong to Divādi class, sub-class Radhādi, and they take the augment इट् optionally (VII, 2. 45), so we have the three forms given above : for these roots are also anudātta in their first enunciation.

Why do we say "which are anudātta in the Upadesā or the system of grammatical instruction"? Observe वद्धा, वद्धुम्, वद्ध्यम्, from वह उद्यमन which is exhibited as उद्धन्त, and because it has an indicatory ऊ it takes इट् optionally. Why do we say 'having a penultimate अः letter'? Observe भन्ता, छन्ता ॥ Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a mute or a sibilant'? Observe तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥ Why do we say 'not having an indicatory क्'? Observe तृष्णः, दृष्णः ॥ Before affixes not beginning with a श्ल्य consonant this augment will not be inserted, as तर्पणम्, दर्पणम् ॥

शीर्षद्वचन्दसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शीर्षन्, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्ति शब्दान्तरं शिरःशब्देन समानार्थं छन्दसि विषये निपातते ॥

60. The word शीर्षन् is found in the Chhandas.

This word is another form of शिरः and means 'head'. This is not a substitute of शिरः in the Vedas, for both forms are found therein. Thus शास्त्रो हि तत्र सोमं क्रीतं हरान्ति, यत्ते शीर्षोऽर्दभाग्यम् ॥ In the secular literature there is only one form शिरः ॥

ये च तद्विते ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, तद्विते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीर्षन्ति वर्तते । आदेशोयमिष्यते स कथं तद्वितइति हि परं निमित्तमुपादीयते स तस्मृत्यां प्रकृतिं शिरःशब्दान्तराक्षराति । यकारादौ तद्विते परतः शिरःशब्दस्य शीर्षद्वादशो भवात् ॥
वाच्चिकम् ॥ वा केशापु ॥

61. There is the substitution of this stem शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita-affix beginning with य follows.

The word शीर्षन् is understood here. This rule teaches substitution. The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we must infer it. The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षायो हि मुख्यो भवति,

शीर्षिणः स्वरः ॥ The affix यन् is here added by IV. 3. 55. The word शीर्षण retains its original form before this affix यन्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI. 4. 168). Why do we say when 'a Taddhita-affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति = शिरस्यात्, here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution.

Vārt̄ :—The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair'. As शीर्ष-
ण्यः केशः or शिरस्याः केशः ॥

अच्च शीर्षः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्च, शीर्षः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अजाहौ तद्विते शिरसः शीर्षशङ्कैभादिशो भवति ॥

62. There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows.

Thus हास्तिरियोऽप्य्ये = हास्तशीर्षः formed by adding the Patronymic affix इत् (IV. 1. 96). So also स्थूलशिरस इत्म् = स्थौलशीर्षम् ॥ Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI. 4. 168). Again in forming the feminine of हास्तशीर्षः by adding अथड् (IV. 1. 78), arises this difficulty :— अथड् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तशीर्षः, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस् is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI. 1. 61). The form which we get will be this, हास्त-शीर्षः + अथड् = हास्तशीर्षण् + य (VI. 1. 61) = हास्तशीर्षण्या (VI. 4. 168). But this is a wrong form, the desired form is हास्तशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हास्तशीर्ष + अथड् = हास्तशीर्ष + य (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लंपादिश ॥ Now this आदेश becomes sthānīyat to इ, thus the affix य not being directly applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI. 1. 61, for it is not followed by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthānīyat to इत् affix.

This sūtra is not of Pāṇini, but is really a Vārtika raised to the rank of a sūtra by later authors.

पदद्वामास् इत्त्रिश्मन्युष्टदोषत्यक्त्वात्तुदवासत्त्वस्प्रभृतिषु ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥
पद्, दत्, नस्, मास्, हत्, निश्, असन्, यूगन्, दोषन्, यकन्, शकन्, उदन्,
आसन्, शस्, प्रभृतिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाढ़ इत्वा नासिका मासा हृषय निशा असुज् ग्रूप दोष यक्त् शक्त् उदक् आसन् इत्येतेषां शब्दानां
स्थानं साम्यभृतप्रत्ययेषु परतः पद दत् नस् मास् हत् निश् असन् यूगन् दोषन् यकन् शकन् उदन् आसन्
इत्येते भासेशा वयोरासरुणं भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वरास्त्रिषु लांस्त्रसृतामुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ नस् नासिकाया यत्तस्त्वद्वेषु ॥

वा० ॥ यति वर्णनगरयोर्नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

63. In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are substituted :—पद् for पाद्, दत् for दन्त्, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मास्, हृद् for हृदय, निश for निशा, असन् for अस्त्रज्, यूषन् for यूंव, दोषन् for दोस्, यकन् for यकृत्, शकन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन्, the Sīdhānta Kāmudi gives the original as आस्य which has been adopted in the above. Some say that these substitutions take place in the Vedic Literature only, others say, they are general. Others read the word 'optionally' into this sūtra from VI. I. 59 and hold that these substitutes are optional and not compulsory.

Examples :—1. पद्—निपश्चतुरो जह्नि. पशावत्य योदुहम् ॥ 2. इत्—या इती धावति तस्ये अबावदन् ॥ 3. नस्—सूक्रस्त्वयनव्रग्मा ॥ 4. मास्—मार्याल्वा पश्यामि क्षुषा ॥ 5. हृद् हृदा पृतेन मनसा जातंवदस्म् ॥ 6. निश् अमादास्यार्यां निशि येजत् ॥ 7. असन्—असिन्को स्नादरोहति ॥ 8. यूषन्—या पात्राणि यूष्ण आसन्नार्ता ॥ 9. दोषन्—यत्ते दोषाणो दीर्भाग्यम् ॥ 10. यकन् यक्तो वचति ॥ 11. शकन् शक्ता वयात् ॥ 12. उदन्—उद्ग्रे श्विष्यस्थि नाशा ते ॥ 13. आसन्—आसनि कि लभे मधुनि ।

Why do we say when the weak terminations शस् &c follow? Observe पात् ते प्रतिपीडयौ नासके ते कृते ॥ As examples of this substitutions in the secular literature also, the following may be given :—

व्यायामक्षुण्ण गात्रस्य पद्गामुद्वर्तितस्य च ।
व्याधये नोपसर्पन्ति वैनत्यमिवारगाः ॥

These substitutions take place before other affixes also : as, शाना दोषणी, क्षुद्दोषणी याच्ने महादेवः ॥

Vart :—The following substitutions also take place : मांस for मांस, पृत् for पतना, and स्तु for सानुः as यत्रीक्षणं मांसपचन्याः for मांसपचन्याः (Yaj. XXV. 36), पृत्यु मर्त्यम् for पृतनामुपर्यम्, न ते इत्वो न पृथिव्या अधस्त्वुषु for अधिसामुषु ॥

Vart :—The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and तस् and the word क्षुद्र follow : as, नस्यम् नस्तः, नस् क्षुद्रः ॥ The यत् is taught in IV. 3. 55 and V. I. 6 ; तस् is taught in V. 4. 45.

Vart :—The substitution of नस् for नासिका before the affix यत् does not take place when it refers to 'letters', or 'cities' as: नासिस्त्रो वर्णः 'a nasal letter' नासिक्यं नगरम् ॥

धात्वादेः पः सः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धात्वादेः; पः, सः ॥
वृणि ॥ धातोरादेः षकारस्य स्थाने सकारांश्चो भवति ॥
वासिकम् ॥ भुज्यातुष्टिवृष्टवक्तीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य ॥

64. There is the substitution of स in the room of the ष being the initial of a verbal root as enunciated in the Dhātupāṭha.

The roots exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ष, change it for स ॥ Thus षह—सहत्, षिच्छ—सिच्छति ॥ Why do we use the word 'root'? Observe

षोडश, षाढ़कः, षण्डः ॥ Why do we say 'initial'? Observe—कर्षति, कृषति ॥ Why have then roots been exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an initial ष, when for all practical purposes this 'ष' is to be replaced by स, would it not have been easier to spell at once these words with a स? This appears cumbersome no doubt, but the spelling of the roots with 'ष' is for the sake of brevity. Certain roots change their स into ष when preceded by certain letters: those roots which thus change their letter स for ष have been at once taught with an initial ष, and thus by VIII. 3. 59 their स is changed to ष ॥ Thus from सिव—instead of ससव we have सषव ॥ Thus root is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with a ष, and thus we know that the स must be changed to ष ॥ Otherwise a list of such roots would have to be separately given. One must refer to the Dhātupāṭha for a list of such roots. As a general rule, however, all roots beginning with a स and followed by a vowel or a dental letter have been taught in the Dhātupāṭha as beginning with an initial ष, as well as the following roots स्मि, स्वद्, स्विद्, स्वज् and स्वप्, though followed by ष or व ॥ The following roots though followed by a vowel or a dental are not taught with an initial ष viz. सृष्, सञ्ज्, स्त, स्त्या, संक, and स ॥

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated of the roots derived from nouns, and of छिव् and षष्क ॥ Thus षोडीयते, षण्डायते are roots derived from nouns, and though these roots begin with ष are not changed: so छिव्—षवात्, षष्क—षष्कते ॥ The word छिव् contains in it two roots षुव् and षिव्, one with त्, another with प्, and thus we have two forms in the reduplication:—तेष्ठीव्यते, टेष्ठीव्यते ॥ The substitution of स for ष takes place in the case of the root that has प् ॥

णो नः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ णः, नः ॥
वृत्ति ॥ धातोरार्द्धरित्यनुवर्तते । धातोरार्द्धेणकारस्य नकार धारिशो भवति ॥

65. There is the substitution of न् for the initial ण of the root in the Dhātupāṭha.

The phrase धातोरार्द्धेण is understood here. Thus णीच्—नयति, णम—नमति, णह—नह्यति ॥ But not अण्—अन्यति ॥ This 'does not apply to roots derived from nouns. णकारमिद्भूति = णकारीयात् ॥ The roots are exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with ण for a similar reason as they are exhibited with ष ॥ By VIII. 4. 14, these roots change their न into ण when preceded by certain prepositions. All roots beginning with a ण should be understood to have been so taught, with the exception of the following:—न्, नन्दि, नर्दि, नक्, नाटि, नाध् and नाधृ ॥

लेणोऽवर्णैर्वैलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, व्योः, वलि ॥
वृत्ति ॥ धातोरिति प्रकृतं यत् तस्यात्वार्द्धरिति पुनर्दातुमृहणान्विवृत्तम् । तेन धातोरधातोश्च षकारयकारयोर्वलि परतो लेणो भवति ॥

66. There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and ष when followed by any consonant except य ॥

The final व् or श् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a वन्^० consonant i. e. any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिव् + वस् (III. 2. 107)=दिव्+दिव्+दत्=दिविवर् nom. singular दिविवान्, दिविवासौ, दिविवासः ॥ Thus ऊश्+त=ऊतं, 'spun', क्षुश्+त=क्षुतं, 'made a noise'. So also the affix इक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV. 1. 129). Of the affix इक्, इ is replaced by एश् (VII. 1. 2). Thus गोधा+एश्+र=गौधेरः (the श् of the affix being even elided before र) ॥ So also in पचेरन्, यजेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III. 4. 102.) is elided before रन् (III. 4. 105). So also व् is elided in the following:—from जीव—जीरवानुः (by Uṇādi affix जीवं रवानुक्) from निव—अंसमाणम् formed by the Uṇādi affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Uṇādi affixes (III. 3. 1), there is not ऊश् substitution for श् as required by VI. 4. 19.

Why do we say "before any consonant except य्?" Observe ऊशयते, क्षुशयते when श् is not elided. Why the word लोप is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the apr̄ikta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय + किवप्=कण्डू य् (VI. 4. 48)=कण्डू + व् = कण्डूः ॥ So लोलूय + किवप्=लोदूः ॥ Why व् of ब्रश् is not elided before र् which is a वल् consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश् instead of ब्रश् ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृशाति by samprasāraṇa, and ब्रवश् by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule, while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by इलादिशेषः are Bahiranga.

वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैः, अपृक्तस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते । देरिति किवबाह्यो विशेषानुबन्धानुत्स्मृज्यसामान्येन गृह्णन्ते । वेरपृक्तस्य लोपो भवति ॥

67. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

The affix वि includes किवप्, किवन्, विव &c. In all these, the real affix is श्, which being an apr̄ikta (I. 2. 41), is elided. Thus ब्रह्माशा, धूणहा (III. 2. 87). Here the affix किवप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III. 2. 58). Here the affix किवन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक् पादभाक्, तृतीयभाक् (III. 2. 62). Here the affix विव is elided.

Why do we say "of an apr̄ikta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe इविः formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जागृविः formed किवन्, see Uṇādi Sūtras IV. 53. 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46); hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by

I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus चिर् words are 'adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

हलङ्घयावृश्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृकं हल् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्, डच्याप्भ्यः, दीर्घात्, सु, ति, सि, अपृक्तम्, हल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्त्तने । तदिह लौकिकेनार्थेनार्थवत् कर्मसाधनं द्रष्टव्यम् । लुप्यतद्वितीलोपः । हलन्तान् डच्यन्तादावन्ताद्य दीर्घात्परं सु ति सि इत्यतदपृकं हल् लुप्यते ॥

Kārikā :—संयोगान्तस्य लोपे हि नलोपादिनं सिद्धप्रति । रात्रुं तर्त्तेव लोपः स्याद्वलस्तस्मादेवीयते ॥

68. After a consonant there is the elision of the nominative-affix स् and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sūtra translated literally means :—After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृकं हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after a consonant and hence we have translated it as above. As examples of the elision of सु after a consonant :—राजन्+स् = राजन् (VI. 4. 8)+०=राजा, तक्षा, उखासन्, पर्णधन् ॥ After a डी :—as, कुमारी, गौरी, शान्त्रवी ॥ After आप् :—खद्वा, बहुराजा, कारी षगन्मया ॥ The elision of ति and सि takes place only after consonants :—as, अबिभवन् (अ+लङ्+तिष्=अ+भ+त्+त्=अ+भ+त्+त् (VI. 1. 10)=अ+भै+त्+त् (VII. 4. 66 and 1. 1. 51)=अ+भ+त्+त् (VII. 4. 60)=अ+व+भ+त्+त् (VIII. 4. 54)=अ+वि+भ+त् (VII. 4. 76)=अ+वि+भर+त् (VII. 3. 84)=अविभर+त्=अविभर् ॥ So also अजागर् भवान् ॥ In both these cases त् of the Imperfect has been elided. The स् is elided in the following :—अभिनोडन्, अच्छुनोडन् ॥ (भिन्+लङ्+सिष् ॥ The द् is changed into र् by VIII. 2. 75 and स् is elided by this rule).

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe आमणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कौशाम्बः, अनखद्वा, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say "when followed by सु, ति and सि"? Observe अभैस्तित् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिष् only. Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति ॥ Why do we say 'the consonant is elided'? Observe विभेद, चिच्छेद ॥ Here the aprikta affix अ of the Perfect is not elided : though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why has the elision of शु (शु), त् (तप्त) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII. 2. 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, नक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स्=राजान्+स् (VI. 4. 8)=राजान्स् and by eliding स् by Rule VIII. 2. 23, the form would have become राजान्, and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII. 2. 7; for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Books), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned; therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope, since VIII. 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्) is considered as if it had not taken effect. So also in the case of उखास्त् and पर्णस्त् ॥ उखी+स्त्र+विवप् III. 2. 76=उखा+स्त्र (the nasal being elided by VI. 4. 24); now add शु, we have उखास्त्+शु=उखास्त्स्; elide the final स् not by this rule, but by VIII. 2. 23, we have उखास्त्, here we cannot change the स् into त् by VIII. 2. 72 for शु is not *final* in a *pada*, for Rule VIII. 2. 23 is considered as not to have taken effect. So also in the case of अभिनोदत्र ॥ The word अभिनः is 2nd. Pers. sing. of the Imperfect of भिद् of Rudhādi class. Thus भिद्+लड़+सिप्=अ+भिद्+इन्स्+स्=अ+भिन्द्+स्=अभिनर्+स् (व् changed to र् by VIII. 2. 75)=अभिनर्स् ॥ If we elide the final शु of the conjunct by VIII. 2. 23, then in अभिनर्+अत्र, the र् would not be changed into त् to form अभिनोदत्र by VI. 1. 113 since the ellision of स् is considered as to have not taken effect when applying this rule. So also in अचिभर् भवान्, by Rule VIII. 2. 24, there would be no lopa even, for संग्रागान्तत्वाप् rule is restricted by रात्सस्य (VIII. 2. 24), i. e. स् only and no other consonant is elided after र्, therefore there will be no elision of न् in अचिभर् by VIII. 2. 23.

एङ्गहस्तात्संबुद्धे: ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्ग, हस्तात्, सम्बुद्धे: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोप इति वर्तते, हलिति च । अपूर्कमिति न धिकियते । तथा च पूर्वसुत्रे पुनरपूर्कमयहर्ण कृतम् । एडन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् हस्तान्ताच परो इलुप्यतेसंचयसंबुद्धभवति ॥ .

69. The consonant of the nominative-affix (शु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The word लोप is understood here also; as well as इल् ॥ The word अपूर्क however is not to be read here, as its repetition in VI. 1. 68 (though its anuvritti was there from the preceding sūtra) indicates. The affix of Vocative is the same as that of the nominative. By VII. 3. 108, the short vowel of the stem is replaced by a guṇa vowel when the Vocative Singular affix follows. Thus we have अग्नि and वाया for अग्नि� and वायुः; and by VII. 3. 107, a short vowel is substituted for the long vowel ई and ऊ of the feminine: as नदि and वधु for नदी and वधू ॥ Now applying the present sūtra, the affix स् is elided after

all the above words. अ॒हे अग्ने !, हे वायो !, हे देवरत्न !, हे नदि !, हे वसु ! The Vocative Singular of कुण्ड a Neuter noun is thus formed. By VII. i. 24, अ॒म् replaces स् of the nominative, the अ॒ of अ॒म् and the final अ॒ of कुण्ड coalesce into one अ॒ by VI. i. 107, which becomes कुण्डम् ॥ Here by the rule that 'consonant' only is to be elided, we elide म् only (and not अ॒ which becomes a part of the word by VI. i. 85, for it is considered both as the final of the word and the initial of the affix). Now म् is not an अपृक्तं हङ् for it is part of the affix अ॒म्, and its elision would not have taken place had we read the anuvritti of aprिक्ता into this sūtra. Thus we have हे कुण्ड ! ॥ But in हे कतरत् ! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अ॒त्, the substitute of म् for the affix there is अ॒दृङ् (VII. i. 25). This affix being द्वित् causes the elision of the final अ॒ of कतर (VI. 4. 143), and we have कतर + अ॒त्, here we have not a prātipadika which ends in a short vowel, but in a consonant, hence त् is not elided. See also VII. i. 25. The word एङ् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे अ॒ग्नि+सु, the affix is not elided first and then guṇa substituted for श्, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided,

शैश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ शोः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतस्य बहुलं छन्दसि विषये लोपो भवति ॥

70. In the Chhandas, the elision of the case-ending इ (शि) of the nominative and accusative plural neuter, is optional.

Thus या क्षेत्रा or यानि क्षेत्राणि, या वना or यानि वनानि ॥

हस्तस्य पिति कृति तुक् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तस्य, पिति, कृति, तुक् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पिति कृति परता हस्तरत् तुगागमो भवति ॥

71. To a root ending in a short vowel is added the augment त् (तुक्) when a Kṛit-affix having an indicatory प् follows.

Thus अ॒ग्नि+चि+क्षिप्=अ॒ग्निचित्, so also सोमनुत् ॥ Similarly प्रकृत्य and प्रहृत्य and उपस्तुत्य formed by the affix त्यप् ॥ Why do we say "ending in a short vowel"? Observe आ॒लूय, अ॒मणीः ॥ Why do we say "having an indicatory प्"? Observe कृतम्, हृतम् ॥ Why do we say "a kṛit affix"? Observe पृष्ठनरः, पृष्ठनसः, with the Taddhita-affixes तरप् and तमप् ॥ In the compound शामणिकूलम्, though the root is made short, yet there is no augment तुक्, in as much as the rule by which the root has been shortened is a Bahiranga rule, and the present rule is an Antaranga one. The maxim is असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गम् ॥ "That which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, or as not existing, when that which is Antaranga is to take effect".

संहितायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारो इयमतुर्वर्त्तिं पदमेकवर्जनिति यावत् । प्रागेतस्मात्सृजुदित उत्तर यद्यश्चामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्वित्यव्यम् ॥

72. In the following sūtras upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् “in an unbroken flow of speech”, should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI. 1. 158. What ever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice. Thus द्वयत्र, मध्यत्र the इ and उ are changed to य and व when the two words are pronounced without any hiatus. Otherwise we shall have द्वय अत्र, मध्य अत्र ॥

छे च ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तस्य तुगिति वर्तते । छकारे परतः संहितायां विषये हस्तस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

73. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

Thus इच्छति, गच्छति ॥ The त् is changed to च् by VIII. 4. 40. The short vowel itself is the आगमी (the thing to which the augment is added), and not the word ending in that short vowel. Therefore in चिच्छिदत्तुः, चिच्छिद्दुः, the augment is not to be considered as part of the Reduplicate चिच्छि, but of the short इ only; and therefore it is not elided by हलादिः-संषष (VII. 4. 60) rule applying to reduplicates. This follows on the maxim नावयवावयवः समुदायावयवो भवति “the part of a part cannot be considered as a part of the whole”. Here त् is a part of the abhyāsa syllable चिच्छि which is itself a part of the verbal base, therefore त् is not considered as an abhyāsa: or because त् being an augment of इ is considered as part of इ and not of चिच्छि of which इ is the part..

आड्माड्मोश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ औड्, माडोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुगित्यनुवर्त्तते, छहति च । आडोऽडित ईषवारिषु चतुर्ष्वर्थेष्वु वर्तमानस्य माडश्च प्रतिषेधप्रवचनस्य छकारे परततुगागमो भवति ॥

74. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

The Particle आ has the four senses of 1. littleness (ईषदर्थः) 2. with verbs, is a prefix (क्रियावेगः) 3. the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) and 4. the limit exclusive (मर्यादा). This sūtra ordains तुक् necessarily, where by VI. 1. 76, it would have been optional. Thus ईषद्भाशा = भाष्टाशा; 2. With verbs:—as आच्छास्यान्, 3 and 4. आच्छायायाः, आच्छायम् ॥ So also the negative particle मा, as, माच्छत्सीन्, माच्छिदन् ॥ The छ in आड-

and माङ् shows that अ॒ when used as a Gati and a Karmapravachanīya and मा when used as a negative particle are meant. Therefore, the त् is not necessary in the following :—आच्छाया मानयाते, प्रमाच्छुन्दः॥ The तुक् may be optionally added in these as आच्छाया and प्रमाच्छुन्दः॥ The अ॒ here has the force of recollection (स्मरण); आच्छाया “Oh the shade”. The word प्रमा is formed from the verbal root माङ् by the prefix प्र and the affix अ॒ (III. 3. 106) with the feminine affix दा॒, and the word ending in दा॒ has not the indicatory ङ्॥

दीर्घात् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छे तुगाति वर्तते । दीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य तुगागमो भवति ॥

75. The augment त् is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

Thus द्वीच्छाति, म्लेच्छाति, अपच्छायते, विच्छाच्छायते ॥ The augment belongs to the long vowel and not to the whole syllable ending in that long vowel.

पदान्ताद्वा ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदान्तात्, वा, तुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाच्छेतुगाति वर्तते । पदान्तादीर्घात्परो यश्छकारस्तस्मिन्पूर्वस्य तस्यैव दीर्घस्य पूर्वेण नित्यं प्राप्तो वा तुगागमो भवति ॥

वाच्चकम् ॥ विश्वजनादेनां छन्दसिवा तुगागमो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

76. The augment त् is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

This allows option where by the last it would have been compulsory to add it. The augment is of the long vowel, and not of the word ending in long vowel. Thus कूटीच्छाया or कुटीच्छाया, कूबलीच्छाया or कुबलीच्छाया ॥ The तुक् augment here is added to the end of a pada, and this is therefore a padānta rule and not a pada-vidhi. Therefore the two words need not be in construction for the application of this rule; (समर्थ पदविधि) not applying. Thus निष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तस्य, “let the girl stay. Take the umbrella of Devadatta”. Here कुमारी and छत्रं are not in construction, but तुक् is still added optionally.

Vart :—The augment त् is optional in the Chandas, after the words विश्वजन &c. As, विश्वजनच्छत्रम् or विश्वजनछत्रम्, नैछायां कुरवोपराम् or नछायां कुरवोपराम् ॥

इको यणच्चि ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, यण, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचि परत, इको यणदेशो भवात् ॥

वाच्चकम् ॥ इकः प्लुतपूर्वस्य सत्राण्डीर्घवाधनर्थं यणदेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

77. The semivowels य, व्, ए, ल् are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, औ and ल (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. I. 101, namely the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding for

the application of this rule. Thus दधि + अव्र = दध्यव्र, मधु + अव्र = मध्यव्र, कर्तु + अर्थम् = कर्त्रर्थम्, हर्तु + अर्थम् = हर्वर्थम्, ल धाकृति = लाकृतिः ॥

Vart:—This semivowel substitution of vowels takes place, when preceded by a prolated vowel, even to the supersession of VI. i. 101 requiring lengthening. Thus अग्ना ३ इ इन्द्रं = अग्ना ३ विन्द्रम्, पटा ३ उ उक्षकम् = पटा ३ बुक्षकम्, अग्ना ३ इ वाशा = अग्ना ३ याशा, पटा ३ उ वाशा = पटा ३ वाशा ॥ भो ३ इ इन्द्रम् = भो ३ विन्द्रम् ॥ The phrase ‘when a vowel follows’ exerts its influence upto VI. i. 108. .

एचो इयवायावः ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, अय् - अव् - आय्-आवः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ एचः स्थाने इचि परतो इय् अव् आय् आव् इत्येते गांशेषा यथासंख्यं भवन्ति ॥

78. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, आय्, अव् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Thus चित्ति + ल्युट् = चै + अन् = च्ययनम्, लो + अन् = लवन्; ष्वै + अक् = च्चादकः, लौ + अक् = लावकः ॥ So also कंयते, व्ययते, याववरुणाद्वि, रु + युत् (III. 2. 148) = रं + अन् = रवणः ॥

वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वान्तः, यि, प्रत्यये ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ योथमेचः स्थाने वान्तादेश ओंकारस्य अव् औंकारस्याव् स यकारादौ प्रत्ययं परतो भवति ॥ वान्तिकम् ॥ गोर्धूतौ छन्दसि ॥ वा० ॥ अध्वपस्मिन्नेण च ॥

79. The substitution of अव् and आव् for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in व viz. अव् and आव् ॥ Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in व् (viz. अव् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows. It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ ॥ Thus ब्रु + यम् = ब्राध्मो + य = ब्राध्मयः (VI. 4. 146 and IV. i. 105). So also माण्डव्यः, शक्वयंदाहु, पित्तव्यः कार्पासः, नाव्यो (IV. 4. 91) हहः ॥ Why do we say “अव् and आव्”? Observe रायमिच्छति = रैयाति, no change of ई before य ॥ Why do we say “before य”? Observe गोभ्याम्, नौभ्याम् ॥ Why do we say “an affix”? Observe गोयानम्, नौयानम् ॥

Vart:—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas. As गो + यूति = गद्यूति, as आनो मित्रा वरुणा द्वैतर्गव्यूतिपुष्कुतम् ॥ Why do we say ‘in the Vedas’? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vart:—This substitution takes place when referring to the mea ur of a road: —as, गद्यूति मात्रमयानं गतः ॥ This is in the secular literature, गद्यूति meaning कौशलगम् ॥

धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, तन्निमित्तस्य, एव ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ एच इति वर्तते । वान्तो यि प्रत्ययइति च । धातोर्द्ध एच् तन्निमित्तो यकारादिपत्ययनिमित्तस्य यकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो वान्तादेशो भवति ॥

80. For the final diphthongs ओ and औ of a root, are substituted अव् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एवं वान्तोयि प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word लाभिनमित्त means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य ॥ Thus लू forms its Future Passive Participle by अत् (III. 1. 97), this affix causes the guṇa of ऊ by VII. 3. 84. Thus लू + य = लौ + य, which according to the present sūtra becomes लद्यम् ॥ So also शु—पा + य = पद्यम् ॥ लू + अथत् (III. 1. 125) = लौ + य = अवश्य लाद्यम् and अवश्य पाद्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'of a root'? This rule should not apply to a nominal stem. For then, though it may be all right in the case of वाङ् + य = वाधो + य = वाभ्रव्यः; it will not apply to cases like गो + य = गद्य, नौ + य = नाद्य, where ओ and औ are not *caused* by the affix, but are integral parts of the stem before the affixes were added. Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of वे with the upasargā आ is आ + वे + यक्त + ते = Here by Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15) वे becomes उ, as आ + उ + य + ते; now by sandhi आ + उ = ओ (VI. 1. 87), we have ओ + अथत् = ओथते ॥ Since ओ is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also ओथत्, लौथमानिः, पौथमानः (IV. 1. 95). The word एव in the aphorism has the force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and औ before य are changed then only to अव् and आद् when य has caused the production of ओ and औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षय्य - जय्यौ , शक्य - अर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कि जि इत्येत्योद्दर्शत्वोर्यति प्रत्यये परतः शक्यार्थे गम्यमाने एकारस्यायारेशो निपात्यते ॥

81. In क्षय्य and जय्य there is substitution of अय् for य only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix अत् (III. 1. 97) assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षतुं = क्षय्यः (क्षि + य = क्षे + य); so also जय्यः ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, जयो वृषलः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ८२ ॥ "पदानि ॥ क्रय्यः, तदर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीणाते द्वातो स्तदर्थे क्रयार्थे यत्सिमप्रभिधेये यति प्रत्यये परतो ऽयोरेशो निपात्यते ॥

82. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for य when the sense is that of "exposed or put out for sale, saleable".

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix अत्; the guṇa य being changed to य ॥ The word तदर्थ means 'for the purpose of that'

i. e., for the purpose of being bought. As क्रद्या गौः, क्रद्यः क्रम्भलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense' is that of saleable'? Observe क्रं नो धान्यं न आस्ति क्रम्भम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

भय्यप्रवर्ये च छन्दसि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भय्य - प्रवर्ये , च, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विभेतेर्धातोः प्रपूर्वस्य च वी इत्येतस्य यंति प्रस्त्रे परतः छन्दसि विषये इत्यादशो निपातते ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ हृष्ट्या आप उपसंख्यानम् ॥

83. The forms भय्य and प्रवर्या are found in the Chhandas.

The word भय्य is derived from भी+अत्, and प्रवर्या from प्र+भी+अत् ॥ The guṇa ए is changed to अ॒ ॥ Thus भय्य किलासीत् ॥ वस्ततरी प्रवर्या ॥ The अत् is added to भी with the force of Ablative by virtue of the diversity allowed by क्रूर्यलुटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113) ॥ Thus विभेति अस्माद्=भय्यम् "frightening or fearsome". The word प्रवर्या is always used in the feminine: in other places प्रवर्या is the proper form. Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe भेषम्, प्रेषम् in secular literature.

Vart :—The word हृष्ट्या should also be enumerated when referring to water. As हृ॒ भवा = हृष्ट्या आपः ॥ The affix अत् is added by IV. 4. 110 (हृ॒ + य = हृय + य) ॥

एकः पूर्वपरयोः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकः, पूर्व - परयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाधिकारो यम् । खय्यत्यात्परस्येति प्राग्मेतस्मासूत्रादित उत्तरं यहृष्ट्यामस्तत्र पूर्वस्य परस्य द्वयोरपि स्थाने एकादेशो भवतीत्येतद्वित्तव्यम् ॥

84. From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. In every sūtra upto VI. 1. 112 (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one. These form the well known rules of ekādeśa, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c. Thus VI. 1. 87 teaches 'There is guṇa substitution, when अ or आ is followed by a vowel'. We must supply into that sūtra the phrase एकः पूर्वपरयोः i. e. one guṇa is the substitute for the final अ or आ and the initial vowel. Thus खद्वा + हन्द्रः = खद्वेन्द्रः ॥ Here ए is the single substitute of the both preceding letter आ and the succeeding letter ए ॥ The words पूर्व पर show that the substitute operates simultaneously on both. Otherwise the substitute would have come in the place of *one* only or of each one separately. Thus in आद् गुणः (अच्चि) = "after अ or आ, there is guṇa, in a vowel". Here आत् is in the ablative, and by I. 1. 67 the guṇa operation would have taken place on the letter *following* it: so also अच्चि is in the Locative and by I. 1. 66, the

guṇa operation would have taken place on the *preceding*; so it is not clear of what letter there should be guṇa substitution, of the preceding or the succeeding. But the present rule shows it must operate on both simultaneously. The word एक 'single', shows that a separate or a different substitute does not operate: i. e. the substitute must be one, there should not be two separate substitutes one for each sthānī, such as we find in the sūtra VIII. 2. 42 (रद्धमां निष्ठातो नः, पूर्वस्य च इः; "न is the substitute of the त of nishṭhā, after र् and इ, and of the preceding र्"). Here न् is taught as substitute both of त् and इ, and as एक is not used in the sūtra, we get *two* न, as भिद् + त = भिन् + न = भिन्नः ॥ But this is not the case here. According to Mahabhāshya the word एक is redundant.

अन्तादिवच्च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त - आदि - वत् , च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक इति वर्तते पूर्वपर्यार्थत च । एकः पूर्वपर्योरिति योथेमकादेशो विधीयते स पूर्वस्यान्तवद्वाति, परस्यादिवद्वाति ॥

85. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in the last, is considered in the light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding. An ādeśa is like the sthānī, but in an ekādeśa, the sthānī is indeterminate, or rather the sthānī is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding. Hence the necessity of this sūtra. The sense of this atideśa sūtra is this: as the beginning and the end of a thing are both *included* in the thing itself, and therefore when the thing is mentioned, the beginning and the end are both taken; so is the case with this single substitute. Thus to the stem ब्रह्मबन्धु we add ऊ the feminine affix (IV. I. 66); and now उ + ऊ = ऊ (VI. I. 101) i. e. ब्रह्मबन्धु + ऊ = ब्रह्मबन्धू ॥ Here ब्रह्मबन्धु is a Nominal-stem (प्रतिपक्षिक) and the affix ऊ is a non-prātipadika, and the single-substitute ऊ is considered as the final of the prātipadika. So that we can apply to the form ब्रह्मबन्धु the term prātipadika and by virtue of this designation we can add the case-endings to it by IV. I. 1. But for this rule, we could not have added the case-endings to it, because by virtue of the feminine affix ऊ the word would have rather ceased to be a prātipadika (I. I. 46), because this feminine affix ऊ is not included in IV. I. 1. Similarly for the final non-case-ending ऋ of वृक्ष and the case-ending औ, there comes a single substitute औ by VI. I. 88, this ekādeśa औ is considered both as a non-case affix and a case affix, that is, as the initial of the affix औ, and the final of वृक्ष and thus the word वृक्षौ gets the designation of Pada I. 4. 14 as it ends in the सुष्ठु affix औ ॥

This अन्तादिवद्वाति does not apply in rules relating to letters i. e. to rules depending for their application on letters. Thus खद्व + भा = खद्वा ॥ Here the

ekâdeśa आ is as the final अ of खद्ध, but not for the purposes of the application of the rule which says that the भिस् is changed to एम् after a nominal-stem ending in अ, so the Instrumental plural of खद्धा will not end in ऐ; but will be खद्धा-भिः ॥ So also in जुहाव ॥ It is the Perfect 3rd per. sing. of हौ or हा (VI. 1. 45). By VI. 1. 53, the इ is changed to उ, and we have जुहुआ = जुहउआ which by VI. 1. 108 becomes जुहु, the उ being the single substitute of इ and आ ॥ This single-substitute उ should not be considered as आ for the application of the rule VII. 1. 34 by which the Perfect affix णल् (अ) is changed in ओं after roots ending in आ ॥ Similarly in अस्यै+अथः=अस्या अथः (the य् being elided by VIII. 3. 19). अस्यै is the Dative singular of इदम् in the Feminine with आ ॥ By VII. 3. 11. स्या is added in the Dative with the shortening of the preceding आ; as अ + स्या + ए=अस्यै ॥ Here ए is the single substitute for आ and ए ॥ Here for the application of VI. 1. 109 the single substitute ए should not be considered like ए ॥ The sthâni of the single-substitute (ekâdeśa) is the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding, both taken collectively is replaced by *one*, and not any one of them separately. For that which is replaced by another is called sthâni: as when श् replaces अस् the whole form अस् is called sthâni, and not अ or स separately. The parts, may be called sthâni only inferentially, because the whole is made up of parts. The parts not being considered as sthâni, the rule of sthâni-vad bhâva will not apply to an ekâdeśa with regards to the parts, and no operations dependant on such parts will be effected by such ekâdeśa. But it is intended that such operations should take place. Hence this sûtra.

षत्यतुकोरसिद्धः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्व - तुकोः, असिद्धः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षत्ये तुकिं च कर्तव्ये एकाइशोऽसिद्धो भवति, सिद्धकार्यं न करोतीयर्थः ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संप्रसारणडीइसु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The substitution of a single ाdeśa is to be considered as to have not taken effect, when otherwise स would have to be changed to ए, or when the augment त् (तुक) is to be added.

The word असिद्ध means not-accomplished i. e. the operation caused by its having taken effect is not produced. The word 'asiddha' always debars operations dependent upon the ाdeśa, and gives scope to the operations dependent upon the general rule (असिद्धवचनमाइशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थमुत्सगलक्षणभावार्थं च ॥) Thus काऽसिद्धत् here स is not changed to ए ॥ The equation is thus exhibited : कस् + असिद्धत् = कर् + असिद्धत् (the स changed to र by VIII. 2.66) = कउ + असिद्धत् (उ being substituted for र by VI. 1. 113) = को + असिद्धत् (अ-उ = ओ VI. 1. 87) = कोऽसिद्धत् (ओ-अ = ओ VI. 1. 109). Now applies our sûtra. By VIII. 3. 59, स coming after आ required to be changed into ए, but here the single-substitute ओ is con-

sidered to be non-effective for this purpose. Similarly कोऽस्य, योऽस्य, कोऽस्मै, योऽस्मै ॥ Similarly in अर्थात् there is the addition of उ by VI. 1. 71, though actually preceded by a *long* vowel. That long vowel had resulted from the ekādeśa of इ for ई-ए, and this ekādeśa is considered as if non-effective for the purposes of तुक् augment. Similarly in प्र-ए-ए-तुक्-अ-वृत्तप्रेत्य. Here also अ-ए=ए is considered asiddha.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of samprasāraṇa, the Locative singular case-ending दि (इ), and the 1st per. sing. Atmanepada affix इट् ॥ Of vocalisation we have the following : शकहृष्टु = शकान् हृथति, then we add विक्षिप्तु, before which there is vocalisation of इ, this इ combining with in the following आ becomes उ ekādeśa: as शकहृष्टा-ईक्षिप्तु = शकहृष्टआ-ए-० (VI. 1. 15) + शकहृष्टु (VI. 1. 108). The Locative plural is formed by सु : शकहृष्ट-ए-सु = शकहृष्टु (the lengthening taking place by VI. 4. 2). Here स is changed to उ as the ekādeśa उ for उ-अ not being considered asiddha. So also परिवृत्तिपु (परि + वृत्ते + क्षिप्तु = परि + वृहट् + क्षिप्तु = परिवृत्ति, add सु) ॥ Of the affix दि we have:—वृक्ष-ए-इ = वृक्षं, add छन्नम्, then the single substitute ए being considered not asiddha we have वृक्षच्छचम् or वृक्षेच्छचम् ॥ Of the affix इट् of 1st Pers. Atmanepada we have अपचं-ए-छन्नम् = अपचंच्छचम् or अपचं-छन्नम् ॥ In both these cases we optionally add तुक् by VI. 1. 75-76, by considering the ekādeśa (VI. 1. 87) as to have taken effect, and making the finals शीर्ष or long. Here the ekādeśa is *not* asiddha and therefore तुक् is *optimal* and not compulsory.

आदृगुणः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थात्यनुवर्तते । अवर्णात्परोर्यो अच् अचि ए पूर्वो यो अवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाच्चोः स्थाने एको एउण आदेशो भवति ॥

87. The guṇa is the single substitute of the final ए or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ-ए a vowel = guṇa).

The word अचि is understood here. For the vowel which follows an ए or आ, and for the ए or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding vowels, there is the single substitute guṇa. Thus तव + इट् = तवेष्टम्, खद्वा + इट् = खद्वैश्वम्, माला + इट् = मालेन्द्रः, तव + ईहते = तवेहते, खद्वा + ईहते = खद्वैहते, तव + उदकम् = तवादकम्, खद्वा + उदकम् = खद्वैश्वकम्, तव + अहृयः = तवहृयः, खद्वा + अहृयः = खद्वैहृयः, तव + लकारः = तवलकारः, खद्वा + लकारः = खद्वैलकारः ॥ By analogy of I. 1. 51, the guṇa substitute of ए being ए is always followed by ल्, as that of आ is followed by ए ॥ This universal rule is limited by the following aphorism,

वृद्धिरैचि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, एचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थात्यनुवर्तते । अवर्णात्परो ए एचि ए पूर्वो यो अवर्णस्तयोः पूर्वपरयोरवर्णाच्चोः स्थाने वृद्धिरैचो आदेशो भवति ॥

88. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-ए-diphthong = vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz. the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the last sūtra. Thus ब्रह्म + एडका = ब्रह्मैडका, खद्वा + एडका = खद्वैडका, ब्रह्म + एतिकायनः = ब्रह्मैतिकायनः, खद्वा + एतिकायनः = खद्वैतिकायनः ॥ ब्रह्म + ओदनः = ब्रह्मौदनः, खद्वा + ओ॒दनः = खद्वौदनः, ब्रह्म + औपगवः = ब्रह्मौपगवः, खद्वा + औपगवः = खद्वौपगवः ॥

एत्येत्यत्युठसु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति, एथाति, ऊठसु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिरचीति वर्तते, आशिति च । तदेतदेत्यप्यहणमंतरेव विशेषणं न पुनरेथतेरव्यभिचाराद्युठसासंभवात् । इष्ट गताविलेतस्मिन्यातविचित्त एथ वृद्धाविलेतस्मन् ऊठि च पूर्वं यद्वर्णं ततश्च परो योच्च तयाः पूर्वपर्यावर्णाच्चोः स्थाने वृद्धिरकादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अक्षाद्युहिन्यां वृद्धिर्वन्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ स्वादीररिण्योर्वृद्धिर्वन्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रादूसोदादधेष्वैव्येषु वृद्धिर्वन्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ उत्ते च तुतीयासमासे इवर्णाद् वृद्धिर्वन्तव्या ॥

वा० ॥ प्रथत्सतरकम्बलवसनानामृणे वृद्धिर्वन्तव्या ॥ वा० ॥ कण्ठशाम्यां वृद्धिर्वन्तव्या ॥

89. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-ए of एति (root इ) and एथाति (root एथ), and for अ or आ-ए-ऊ of ऊठ (the substitute of आ in आत् by VI. 4. 132).

The whole of the last sūtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, i. e. when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एथ् as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊठ for ऊठ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप + एषि = उपैषि, उपैमि; उप-ए-एपते = उपैधते, उपैधते; प्रष्ट-ए-ऊहा = प्रष्टौहा ॥ In the last example, guṇa was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एथाति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, because the maxim is उपस्तारपवाश अनन्तरान् विधीन् वाधन्ते नोन्नरान् "Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Therefore the present rule does not apply here:—ऊप-आ-एत = ऊप + एत = ऊपैतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply). Therefore the form अैहि is wrong. So also उप-ए-इत = उपैतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vātī:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when आत् is followed by अैहिनी, as अैहिनी सना ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर् or ईरिण्, or ईरिणौ thus स्वैरम्/स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर् is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईरगता (Ad. 8) स्वेनाभभ्रायण ईरण् = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. I. 32. Another form is स्वैरो = स्वेनाभभ्रायणेर हे गच्छति with the affix णनि (III. 2. 78).

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऋह्, ऋद्, ऋढः, एष्, एष्य; as प्रौहः, प्रौढः, प्रौढः, प्रैषः, प्रैष्यः ॥ The word एष् is derived from the root इषु to wish' (Tud. 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18), and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry. 53), by adding the affix घञ् ; and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding प्रथ् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vṛiddhi, while VI. I. 94 would have caused परस्पः ॥ While the roots इष् 'to glean', and इष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh. 115 and 642), form ईषः and ईष्यः with the above affixes ; and with प्र, their forms will be प्रैषः and प्रैष्यः ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by ऋत् and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound: as सुखेन ऋतः = सुखार्तः, दुःखेन ऋतः = दुःखार्तः, but सुखेन इतः = सुखंतः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमतः ॥ Why 'Compound'? See सुखेनर्तः ॥

Vārt:—The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the word ऋण follows the following:—प्र, वत्सतर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्जन् 'principal debt', वत्सतरार्जन् 'the debt of a steer', कम्बलार्जन् 'debt of a blanket', वसनार्जन् 'debt of a cloth'.

Vārt—So also when the words ऋण and दश are followed by ऋणः—as, ऋणार्जन् and दशार्जन् ॥ The word ऋणार्ज means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasārṇa is the name of a river and of a country.

आटश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आटः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक्षीति निवृत्तम् । अचीत्यनुवर्त्तते । आटः परो यो ऽच्च धन्वि च पूर्वो य आट तयोः पूर्वपरयोरादच्चाः स्थाने वृद्धिरेकादशो भवान्त ।

90. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आट् is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of एक्षि ceases : that of धन्वि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i. e. the आट् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute. The augment आट् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI. 4. 72 &c). Thus एक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत्, एक्षिष्यत्, औभीत्, औद्धीत्, औब्जीत् from roots ईक्षिर्दशने (Bhu. 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud. 32) and उ वज्ज आर्जने (Tud. 20). According to Siddhānta Kaumudi the आट् is the augment which डिन् case-affixes take after *nudit*-words (VII. 3. 112). According to him the following are the examples :—बहुधेयसी-आट-ङे=बहुधेयस्यै (Dative Singular). The आट् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेद् ॥

The च 'and' in the sūtra shows that the परस्पर rule, taught in VI. i. 95, 96 when उस्, ओं and आङ् follow, is superseded when the preceding vowel is आट् ॥ Thus औलीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ॑ ऊढा॒ = ऊढा॒यत् ॥

उपसर्गाद्यति धातौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानिः ॥ उपसर्गात्, ऋति, धातौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिव्यव । अवर्णन्तादुपसर्गाद्यकारादौ धातौ परतः पूर्वपर्याः स्थानं वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

91. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upasarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with ऋ, the Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent ऋ ॥ This debars the guṇa taught in VI. i. 87. Thus उप + ऋच्छति = उपार्छति, प्रार्छति, उपाधोति ॥ Why do we say 'after a preposition'? Observe खद्वर्त्तीति, मालच्छति, प्रच्छत्कोइशः = प्रगता ऋच्छका अस्माद् देशात् ॥ Here the word प्र is not treated as an upasarga, hence this sūtra does not apply. It is a Gati here. Why do we say 'when ऋ follows'? Observe उप॑। इत् = उपेतः ॥ Why have we used त् after ऋ indicating that short ऋ is to be taken? Observe उप॑ + ऋकारी यात् = उपकारायात् ॥ No option is allowed here by the subsequent sūtra. The त् is used, in fact, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in case of Denominative verbs, no ordinary verb can begin with a long ऋ ॥ Why have we employed the word धात्, when the word 'upasarga' would have caused us to infer its correlative धात्? It is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI. i. 129 which causes प्रकृतभावः or non-sandhi of ऋ ॥ The repetition of 'Dhātu' shows that the alternative prakriti bhava taught in VI. i. 129, would not apply in the case of the ऋ of a Dhātu.

वा सुप्यापिशले: ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, सुषि, आपिशले: ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिव्यव । उपसर्गाद्यति धाताविति च । खुबन्तावयवे धातावृक्ताराहै परतो उर्णन्तादुपसर्गास्थू-पूर्वपर्यारपिशलेलाराचार्यस्य मंतन वा वृद्धिरेकादेशो भवति ॥

92. According to the opinion of Āpisali, the Vṛiddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with ऋ ॥

Thus उपर्षभीयति or उपर्षभीयति, उपल्कारीयति or उपाल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and ल्क are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sūtra includes ल्क also. The name of the Grammian Āpisali is mentioned for the sake of respect; the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

औतो उमशसोः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, ओतः, अम् - शसोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओतो उमि शसि च परतः पूर्वपर्याराकार भावेशो भवति ॥

93. For ओऽी of a Nominal stem-**I-अ** of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ ॥

The word आतः is a compound of आ + ओतः ॥ Thus गो - अम् = गाम्, गो-अस् = गा: ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गा: पश्यः ॥ This debars the Vṛiddhi of VII. I. 90. So also आ or आः पश्य; as the word आ is also a nominal stem ending in आ ॥ The Sārvāṇīmsthāna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. I. 90.) which would have caused Vṛiddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vṛiddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix एस्, and as the word एस् of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant: thus we have अचिनवम्, असुवम् ॥

एडि पररूपम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एडि, पररूपम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदियेव. उपसर्गाद्वाताविति च। अवर्णन्तादुपसर्गादेकातौ धातौ पूर्वपरयोः पररूपमेकादेशो भवति॥ वार्त्सिकम् ॥ शकन्व्यादिषु पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवं चानियांगे पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ एवं चानियादिषु छन्दासि पररूपं वक्तव्यम् ॥

94. For the अ or आ of the Preposition-**I-ए** or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्वातौ are understood here. In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूप) ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI. I. 88. Thus उपलयति, मेलयति, उपाषति, प्राषति ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI. I. 92, according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेडकीयति or उपेडकयाति, उपोदनीयति or उपोदनीयति ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्व्यः &c. As शक-**I-अन्व्यः** = शकन्व्यः, कुल + अदा = कुलदा, सीम + अन्तः = सीमन्तः 'hair'; when not referring to 'hair', the form is सीमान्तः ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word, and the sense is not that of 'appointment'. Thus इह-**I-एव** = इहेव; अद्य-**I-एव** = अद्येव ॥ When the sense is that of नियोग, the Vṛiddhi takes place: as इहेव भव, माइन्यन् गा: ॥

Vart:—The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when भोतु and भोष्ट are compounded with another word: as स्थूल भोतुः = स्थूलोतुः or स्थूलोतुः; so also विम्बोष्टि or विम्बोट्टि ॥ When not a compound, the Vṛiddhi is compulsory: as तिष्ठ देवदत्तोष्टं पश्य 'Stay Devadatta, see the lip'.

Vart:—In the Vedas, the para-rūpa substitution takes place when एमन् &c. follow. Thus अपां त्वा एमन् = अपां त्वेमन् ॥ So also अपां त्वा भोभन् = अपां त्वोभन् ॥

ओमाङ्गोश्च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओम् - आङ्गोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदियेव। अवर्णन्ताशोमि भाडिं च परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पररूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

95. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The भात् is understood here. Thus का-॑-ओम् = कोम् ; या-॑-ओम् = योम् ; as कोमित्यवोचत्, योमित्यवोचत् ; आ-॑-आङ् = ओआङ्; then अया-॑-आङ् = अओआङ्, करा-॑-आङ् = करोआङ्, तत्र + ओआङ् = तरोआङ् ॥ आ + अइयात् = अइर्यात्, then अया-॑-अइयात् = अयह्यात् ॥ Thus this rule supersedes both the Vṛiddhi and the lengthening (VI. i. 88, and 101).

उस्यपदान्तात् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उसि, अपदान्तात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्द्धस्येव । अवर्णास्पदान्तावसि पूर्वपरयोगाद्गुणापवादः परस्परमेकावेशो भवति ॥

96. For the अ or आ (not standing at the end of a Pada or full word) + उ of उस the Tense-affix, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The भात् is understood here. This debars the guṇa substitution taught in VI. i. 87. Thus भिन्न्या-॑-उस् = भिन्न्युः, छिन्न्या-॑-उस् = छिन्न्युः ॥ अदा-॑-उस् = अदुः, (लुह् of दा) अथा-॑-उस् = अयुः ॥ All these are examples of लिङ् (Potential) and लड् (Imperfect). Thus भिन्न् + यासुद् + द्यि (the यासुद् is added by III. 4. 103) = अभन्न् + य + उस् (ज्ञुस् replaced द्यि III. 4. 108) = भिन्नकुस् ॥ अदा + सिच् + द्यि = अदा + ऋ (II. 4. 77) + ज्ञुस् (III. 4. 110) = अदा + उस् = अदुः ॥ अ + या + द्यि = अ + या + उस् (VI. 4. 111) = अयुः ॥ The उस् is also the substitute of द्यि in लिङ् (Perfect) see III. 4. 82. When the preceding vowel is not अ or आ, this rule does not apply. Thus the 3rd per. pl. of the Perfect of कृ is :—चक्र-॑-उस् = चकुः ॥ So also from भी we have अब्रिभे-॑-उस् = अब्रिभुः ॥ The word अपदान्तात् ‘not being final in a pada’ does strictly speaking, serve no good purpose in this sūtra. For the affix उस् can never be added to a Pada, it must always be added to a stem, that has not yet risen to the rank of a Pada. If उस्, however, be taken as the syllable उस् (whether an affix or part of an affix or not), then the limitation of अपदान्तात् becomes valid. Thus का + उस्ता = कोस्ता, का + उषिता = कोषिता ॥ Most likely this word has been read here for the sake of the subsequent sūtra or because उस् syllable is taken here and not merely the affix उस् ॥

अतो गुणे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, गुणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपदान्तार्थिति वर्तते । अकागास्पदान्ताद्गुणे परतः पूर्वपरयाः स्थाने परस्परमेकावेशो भवति ॥

97. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

Thus पञ्च-॑-शप-॑-अन्ति = पञ्च-॑-अन्ति = पञ्चन्ति so also यजन्ति ॥ This debars lengthening of VI. i. 101. पञ्च + ए = पञ्चे, यज + ए = यज्जे, here the Vṛiddhi is debarred (VI. i. 88). Why do we say “after the short vowel अ ?” Observe आ-॑-अन्ति = यान्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why do we say when followed by ‘a Guṇa letter ?’ Observe

अथवा-।-इ = अपन्ने, अयजे ॥ १ When final in a Pada, this rule does not apply : as हण्ड-।-अम्र = रण्डाम्रम्, शूपाम्रश्, क्षुद्राम् ॥

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात् इतौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्य, अतः, इतौ ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तमपरिस्कृटवर्णं तदनुकरणं परिस्कृटवर्णमेव केन चित्सादृश्येन तदव्यक्तमनुकरोति तस्य यो-च्छब्दस्तस्तावित्तौ पूर्वपद्योः स्थाने पररूपमेकावेशो भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

98. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound)-।-इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त; when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or, imitation of that sound. Thus पटन्-।-इति = पटित, घटन् + इति = घटिति, हटन् + इति = हटिति, छमन् + इति = छमिति ॥

Why do we say 'imitation of an inarticulate sound'? Observe जगन्-।-इति = जगिति ॥ Why do we say "of अत्"? Observe मरद्+इति = मरडिति ॥ Why do we say when followed by इति? Observe पटन्+अत्र = पटत्र ॥

Varttī—This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following:—मत् + इति = मतिति ॥ How do you explain the form घटिति in the following:—घटिति गम्भीरमभ्युदैर्वितम् ॥ Here the word is not घटन्-।-इति but घटन्-।-इति ॥

नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आम्रेडितस्य, अन्त्यस्य, तु, वा ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्याम्रेडितस्य योऽच्छब्द इतौ तस्य पररूपं न भवति तस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य वा भवति ॥

99. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्-।-इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Thus पटन्पटिति or पटन्पटिति करोति (पटन्पटन् + इति = पटन्पट + इ + ति = पटत्रटिति) ॥ The word is doubled by VIII. i. 4. The para-rūpa substitution will take place when the whole word so reduplicated denotes a sound imitation, thus पटत्रटिति कराति ॥ Here we apply the preceding sūtra. The amreḍita is the name of the second member of the doubled word (VIII. i. 2).

नित्यमाम्रेडिते डाचि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, आम्रेडिते, डाचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यातोऽन्यस्येति दानुवर्त्तते । डाच्यरं यदाम्रेडितं तस्मिन्पूर्वस्याव्यक्तानुकरणस्याच्छब्दस्य योन्यस्तकारस्तस्य पूर्वस्य परस्य चाच्यस्य वर्णस्य नियं पररूपमेकावेशो भवति ॥

100. Of such a doubled sound-imitation word, to which the affix आ- is added which causes the elision of the final अत्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial

consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute. ।

Thus पटपटा करात् (V. 4. 57), इमूर्मा करोति ॥ पटत्पटत्-आच् (V. 4. 57) = पटत्पटा = पटपटा (त्+प्=प्) ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. When the affix आच् (V. 4. 57) is added to पटत्, there is doubling of the word by the Vārtika under VIII. I. 12; this doubling takes place before the final अत् is elided.

अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकः, सवर्णे, दीर्घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकः सवर्णे अचि परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थानं दीर्घ एकावेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सवर्णसीर्धल्खं अति अत्वा वचनम् ॥ वा० ॥ लते लत वा वचनम् ॥

101. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus शण्ड + अग्रम् = दण्डाग्रम्, अथि + इन्द्रः = इधीन्द्रः, मधु + उरके = मधूरके and होतृ + अन्य = होत्तद्यः ॥ Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel?' Observe अग्ने-।-ए = अग्नये ॥ Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel?' Observe इधि-।-अन्न = इन्नय ॥ The word अचि is understood here also. The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood. The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows. As कुमारी शते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I. I. 10: for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अग्नुविसवर्णस्य चाप्रययः (I. I. 69) is not brought into operation at the time when नाज् श्लौ (I. I. 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished. Therefore first the rule of नाज् श्लौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I. I. 9) and then comes the प्रणक्तवाक्यं (I. I. 68). Therefore in नाज् श्लौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i. e. only the 9 vowels contained directly in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which I. I. 68 would have denoted. Therefore though short ई and श are not सवर्ण by I. I. 10: the long ई and श would be savarṇa.

Vart :—When अ short is followed by अ short, the long substitution is optional: so also with ल ॥ This vārtika is necessitated because (1) the two अ or ल—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvṛita and the other vivṛita, or (2) because their prosodial length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (अकाल &c). Thus होत्तकारः = होत्कारः or होत्कारः, so also होतृ-।-ल्कारः = होल्कारः or होल्कारः ॥ The दीर्घ of ल is अ ॥

प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमयोः, पूर्व - सवर्णः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक इति दीर्घ इति वर्तते । प्रथमाशब्दो विभक्तिविशेषे रूढस्तत्त्वाहर्चर्यात् द्वितीयापि प्रथमेत्युक्ता । तस्यां प्रथमायां द्वितीयायां च विभक्तावचि अकः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ एकावेशो भवति ॥

102. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अकः and इतः are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i. e. the 1st case or the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वरूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. Thus अग्नि-१-ओँ = अग्नीः; वायु-१-ओँ = वायुः; वृक्ष-१-अस् = वृक्षाः; so also लक्ष्मीः, लक्ष्मान्, लक्ष्मान् ॥ In the case of these last four examples (वृक्ष-१-अस् &c), the rule VI. I. 97 would have caused para-rūpa substitution i. e. would have given the form वृक्ष-१-अस् = वृक्षः, and that rule would have debarred the lengthening rule VI. I. 101 on the maxim "apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede those rules that stand nearest to them;" but not this पूर्वसत्त्वण �lengthening rule as it does not stand nearest. The word अन्ति 'when a vowel follows' is understood here also. Thus वृक्ष-१-स् = वृक्षः, लक्ष्मीः ॥ The word अकः 'the simple vowel' is understood here also. Thus नी-१-ओँ = नायौ ॥ Why do we say 'a vowel homogenous to the antecedent?' The substitute will not be one homogenous to the second or the subsequent vowel. The दीर्घ or 'long' is used in order to debar the substitution of pluta vowel having 3 measures for a pluta vowel.

तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात् शासः, नः, पुंसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मात्पूर्वसत्त्वणीर्यादुत्तरस्य शसो उवयवस्य सकारस्य पुंसि नकारदेशो भवात् ॥

103. After such a long vowel homogenous with the first, एः is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus वृक्ष-१-शस् = वृक्ष-१-अन् = वृक्षान् ॥ See also अग्नीन्, वायुन्, कर्तृन्, होतृन्, पण्डकान्, स्थूरान्, अरकान्, पश्य &c. All these are masculine nouns. Now the word चञ्चा formed by the elision of कन् meaning a figure like a चञ्चा (V. 3. 98), may refer to both the males and females. It will however retain its feminine form though referring to a male being (See लुपि युक्तवद् व्यञ्जितवचने I. 2. 51). In forming the accusative plural of चञ्चा, the स् will not be changed into न् ॥ Thus चञ्चाः पश्य, वधिकाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'after such a long vowel homogenous with the first?' The rule will not apply if the long vowel has resulted by being a single substitute for the antecedent and the subsequent. Thus आ is substituted for ओ-१-अ by VI. I. 93. Here एः will not be replaced by न् as गाः पश्य ॥ Why do we say 'of the Accusative plural?' Observe लक्ष्मीः, लक्ष्माः endings in जस् Nom. Pl. Why do we say "in the masculine?" Observe, धेतुः, वह्नीः, कुमारीः ॥

नादिच्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आत्, इच्चि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्वणांशिति पूर्वसर्वणीर्थो न भवति ॥

104. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Thus कुक्षौ, लक्षौ, खद्गे, कुर्णे ॥ Here Rules VI. i. 87 &c. apply. Why do we say "after अ or आ?" Observe अन्ती ॥ Why do we say "followed by an इच्चि (a vowel other than अ)"? Observe वृक्षा: here VI. i. 102 applies.

दीर्घाञ्जसि च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घात्, जसि, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाञ्जसि इच्चि च परतः पूर्वसर्वणीर्थो न भवति ॥

105. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom. Pl. affix अस् ॥

Thus कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः, ब्रह्मवन्नौ, ब्रह्मवन्नः ॥
वा छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घाञ्छन्दसि विषये जसि च इच्चि च परतो वा पूर्वसर्वणीर्थो न भवति ॥

106. In the Vedas, the long vowel may optionally be the single substitute of both vowels in these cases last mentioned.

Thus मारुतीः or मारुत्यः, पिण्डीः or पिण्डयः, वाराही or वाराहौ; उपानही or उपानहौ ॥

अमि पूर्वः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमि, पूर्वः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अक इत्येव । अमि परतो इकः पूर्वपरयोऽस्थानं पूर्वं एकाइशो भवति ॥

107. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus वृक्ष-अम्=वृक्षम् (VII. i. 24) लक्षम्, अग्नि-अम्=अग्निम्, वायुम् ॥ The word पूर्वं 'antecedent, first' in the sūtra shows that the first vowel itself is substituted and not any of its homogenous vowels. Otherwise in कुमारी+अम्=कुमारीम् the ई would have been of three mātrās or measures, as it comes in the room of ई+अ, the aggregate mātrās of which are three.

In the Vedas, there is option, as शर्मी or शर्म्यं, गौरी or गौर्यम् ॥ अम् is the

ending of the Accusative singular of all genders and also of the nominative singular in the Neuter in certain cases. (See VII. i. 23; 24 and 28).

संप्रसारणात् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणात्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्व इत्येव । संप्रसारणात्ति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्व एकादेशो भवति ॥

108. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semivowel and the subsequent vowel.

The word पूर्वः is understood here. When a vocalised semi-vowel is followed by a vowel, the vocalised vowel is alone substituted, the subsequent vowel merging in it. Thus यज्-॑-न्त् = इ॒ज्-॑-न्त् (VI. i. 15) = इ॒ष्टम् (इ॑-अ॒ = इ॒); so उभम् (उ॑-अ॒-॑-त् = उ॒ अ॑-॑-त्), प्र॒+॒त् = गृ॒ अ॑-॒त् = गृहीतं ॥ Had there not been this merging, the vocalisation would become either useless or the two vowels would have been heard separately without sandhi. Thus in व॒प्+॒त् = उ॒भ॒प्+॒त्, if the अ॒ did not merge in उ॒, then it would cause sandhi, and उ॒ व् would be changed to व् by इकोव्याप्तिः and the word would again assume the form व॒प् ॥ But this यादेशा would cause samprasāraṇa rule non-effective, hence it follows that but for the present rule, the two vowels would have been heard separately as उ॒ अ॒प् ॥

The rule of option in the Chhandas (VI. i. 106) applies here also. Thus we have यज्यमानौ मित्रावहणौ or इज्यमानौ ॥ “When you have just said that the two vowels will remain separate and there will be no यादेशा when there is no purvavād-bhāva we do you form यज्यमान्; it ought to be इ॒ अ॑ज्यमान्” ? We have only said that vocalisation rule becomes useless if there was not this rule of merging of the subsequent vowel; but where there is this rule of purva-vad-bhāva, and only an *option* is allowed, then the rule of vocalisation does not become totally useless because it finds its scope in cases like इ॒ष्टः &c, therefore when in the *alternative* it is not applied, there यादेशा will take place naturally, and the ordinary rules of sandhi will apply. The merging, moreover, refers to the vowel which is in the same aṅga or base with the samprasāraṇa. Thus शक्तान् ह्यातं = शक्तहू + क्षिप् = शक्तहू उ॒ आ॑ = शक्तहू॑ ॥ Here आ॑ which is in the same अङ्ग with हू॑ merges in to उ॒ ॥ But in forming the dual, we have शक्तहू॑ + औ॑ ॥ Here औ॑ coming after the samprasāraṇa ऊ॑ does not merge therein, and we have शक्तहौ॑ ॥ Similarly शक्तहू॑ + अर्थ॑ = शक्तहूर्थम् ॥ In fact, when *once* the para-purvatva has taken effect, then subsequent vowels will produce their effect because in the antaranga operation इ॒ अ॒ ए॒ ए॒ ए॒ into ए॒, the purva-rupa is ordained to save the samprasāraṇa from modification, but there is no such necessity when a Bahiranga operation is to be applied.

एडः पदान्तादति ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एडः, पदान्तात्, आति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एडः यः पदान्तस्तस्मादति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वरूपमेकादेशो भवति ॥

109. In the room of ए or ओ final' in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus अग्ने-१-अत् = अग्नेऽत्, वायो-१-अत् = वायोऽत् ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अत् and अव् ॥ Why do we say 'of ए or ओ'? Observe स्थव्, मधव् ॥ Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe चे-१-अन् = चयनम्, लो-१-अन् = लबनम् ॥ Here the ए or ओ are in the body of the word, and not at the end of a word. Why do we say "when followed by a short अ"? Observe वायो-१-इति = वायविति, भानो-१-इति = भानविति ॥ Why do we say 'short'? Observe वायो भायाहि = वायवायाहि ॥

डसिङ्गसोच्च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ डसिङ्गसोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एड इति वर्तते, अतीतिच । एड उत्तर्योर्डसिङ्गसोरति परतः पूर्वपरयोः स्थाने पूर्वं एकारेशो भवति ॥

110. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word),-१-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Thus अग्ने-१-अस् = अग्नेः, वायोः ॥ The ए and उ of अग्नि and वायु are guṇated by VII. 3. 111. This sūtra applies when the ए or ओ are in the middle of a word and not padānta, as in the last. Thus अग्नेरागच्छति, वायोरागच्छति, अग्नेः स्वम्, वायोः स्वम् ॥

ऋत उत् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, उत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिङ्गसोरित्येव ऋकारान्तादुत्तर्योर्डसिङ्गसोरति पूर्वपरयोरुक्तार एकारेशो भवति ॥

111. In the room of ऋ-१-अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Thus होत्-१-भस् = होतुर्स् (The उ must always be followed by ए I. 1. 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ + अ conjointly: on the maxim that a substitute which replaces *two*, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋतः and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and [mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B. So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII. 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छाति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

ख्यत्यात्परस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख्य - त्यात्-, परस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डसिङ्गसोरिति वर्तते उद्दिति च । ख्यत्यात्परस्य ख्यत्यात्परस्य विशब्दत्यशब्दयोस्तिशब्दत्यशब्दयोश्चक्षुत्यणदेश्योर्दिम्भवति, ताभ्यां परस्य डसि डसोरत उकारेशो भवति ॥

112. There is the substitution of उ for the अ of

अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after स्त्रि and पति, when for the **ए** of those two stems **य** is substituted.

The phrase डसिङ्गतोः and उत् are understood here also. The एव means and includes यि and ती when the इ is changed to य, and त्व denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि-अस् = सखुः as सखुरागम्भृति, सखुः स्वम् ॥ So also पत्नुरागम्भृति, पत्न्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus : सहस्रेन वर्तते = सखः, सखंमिच्छति = सख-1-क्षम्भृति (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII. 4. 3). Now by adding क्रिप् to the denominative root सखीय we get सखीः ‘one who wishes for a friend’. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी-1-अस् = सखुः also. Of ती we have the following example. लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्रिप् = लूनीः, the Ablative and Genitive singular of which is also लून्युः, the यु of लूनी being the substitute of त् of Nishṭhā, is considered like त् (VIII. 2. 1). The peculiar exhibition of एव and त्व in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c : where we have अतिसखेः, सेनापतेः ॥ The word अतिसखि is यि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4. 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim घणवता प्रातिपश्येन तस्मैविधिर्नास्ति ॥ “That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I. 1. 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself”. According to Dr. Ballantyne this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखीः ‘one who loves pleasure’ (सुखंमिच्छति = सुखीय-1-क्रिप्), and मुत्तीः ‘one who wishes a son’ (सुतमिच्छति = मुत्तीय-1-क्रिप्) : Thus सुख्युः, मुत्युः &c.

अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, रोः, अप्लुतात्, अप्लुते, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति, उर्विति वर्तते । अकाराप्लुतादुत्तरस्य रोरेकस्य उकारानुबन्धविशिष्टस्य अकारे प्लुते परत उकारादेशो भवति ॥

113. The उ is the substitute of रु (the रु substitute of a final स् VIII. 2. 66) when an अ, which is not a pluta, both precedes and follows it.

The phrase उत् is understood here, as well as the word अति of VI. 1. 109, III. Thus वृक्ष-।-सु (1st singular) = वृक्षस् = वृक्षर् (VIII. 2. 66). वृक्षर-।-अति = वृक्षत-।-अति = वृक्षो-।-अति (VI. 1. 87) = वृक्षोत्ति (VI. 1. 109); so also लक्षोत्ति ॥ This ordains उ for इ, whereby VIII. 3. 17, there would have been otherwise य; and this उ does not become asiddha (as it depends upon इ VIII. 2. 66) for the purposes of VIII. 3. 17, as it otherwise would have been by VIII. 2. 1.

Why do we say 'after an अ'? Observe अग्निरूप-अत्र = अग्निरत्र !! Why do we say 'a short अ'? Observe वृक्षाः-।-अत्र = वृक्षा अत्र !! Why do we use ह with its indicatory त्र, and not use the त generally? Observe स्वरूप-अत्र = स्वरत्र, प्रातरूप-अत्र प्रातरत्र !! Here the final त्र is part of the words, and is not produced from त्र !!

The word अति is understood here also from VI. i. 109. The ए must be followed by a short अ, therefore, not here: वृक्षर्-एह = वृक्ष हह ॥ The subsequent अ must be short, the rule does not apply here वृक्षर्-अभितः = वृक्ष भाभितः ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it. As, सुलोता इ अच स्वस्ति (VIII. 2. 84). Why do we say "when followed by an apluta अ"? Observe तिष्ठतु पव आश्विनदत्त (VIII. 2. 86). Here लुत being held asiddha, there would have been उ substitution, had not the phrase अल्पुते been used in the aphorism.

हशि च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हशि, च ॥
हस्तिः ॥ हशि च परतो ऽत उत्तरस्य रोक्कारादेशो भवति ॥

114. The उ is the substitute of रु (the ए substitute of स् VIII. 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हशि pratyâhâra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus पुरुषो भास्ति or हस्ति or हशति &c.

प्रकृत्या ऽन्तःपादमध्यपरे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, अन्तः-पादम्, अध्यपरे ॥

हस्तिः ॥ एडो ऽतीत्येव । एड इति यत्पञ्चम्यन्तमनुवर्त्तते तदर्थातिह प्रथमान्तं भवति । प्रकृतिरिति स्वभावः कारणं वा अभिधीयते । अन्तरित्यव्ययमधिकरणभूतं मध्यमाच्छटे । पादशब्देन च नक्षपादस्त्वेव भजणमिष्यते तद् तु श्लोकपादस्य । अवकारायकारपरे ऽति परत एड् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

115. The final ए or ओ and the following अ when occurring in the middle half of a foot of a Vedic verse, retain their original forms, except when the अ is followed by श् or य् ॥

The word एडः is understood here, but it should be construed here in the nominative case and not in the Ablative. The word प्रकृति means 'original nature, cause'. The word अन्तः is an Indeclinable, used in the Locative case here and means 'in the middle'. The word पादः 'the foot of a verse' refers to the verses of the Vedas, and not to the verses of secular poetry. The word अति is also understood here. Thus ते अथे अस्मायुज्जन्; ते अस्मिन् अवमारुषः; उपग्रहन्तो अभवत्; शिरो अपश्यत्; सुजाते अश्वसूनृते (R. Veda. V. 79. 1); अभवते अतिभिः सुकृत् (Rig IX. 51. 1); शुक्रं ते अन्यत् (Rig. VI. 58. 1).

Why do we say 'in the inner half of a foot of a verse?' Observe कवा मती कुल एतास एतेऽर्चान्ति ॥ Why do we say "when ए् or य् does not follow अ?" Observe तेऽवश्य (Rig X. 109. 1), तेऽवस्यम् ॥ Why do we say ए or ओ? Observe अन्विग्रहस्यसामयमत्यत् ॥ Some read this sûtra as नान्तः पादमध्यपरे ॥ According to them, this sûtra supersedes the whole rule of juxtaposition or सहिता (VI. i. 72).

अव्यादवद्यादवक्त्रमुरवतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यात्, अव्यात्, अवक्तुः, अवत्, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्युषु, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यात् अव्यात् अवक्तुः अवत् अयम् अवन्तु अवस्यु इत्येतेषु यकारवकारपरेष्याति परतोऽन्तः पास्मद् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

116. The ए or ओ retain their original form in the middle of a Vedic verse, when the following words come after them (though the अ in these has a च् and य् following it) :—
अव्यात्, अव्यात्, अवक्तुः, अवत्, अयम्, अवन्तु, अवस्यु ॥

Thus अग्निः प्रथमोवसुभिर्नो अव्यात् ॥ मित्रमहो अव्यात् (Rig IV. 4. 15), मा चिक्षासो अवक्तुः (Rig VII. 32. 27); ते नो अवताः (Not in the Rig Veda). Prof. Bohtlingk gives the following examples from the Rig Veda :— सीक्षन्तो अवन्तेऽम् (VI. 14. 3), सद्गन्ता अवतान् (IX. 73. 5), कर्ते अवतान् (IX. 73. 8). शतधारो अयं मणिः, ते नो अवन्तु पितरः (Not in the Rig Veda; according to Prof. Bohtlingk the अ of अवन्तु is generally elided in the Veda after ए or ओ) कुशिकासो अवस्थवः (Rig III. 42. 9).

यजुष्युरः ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यजुषि, उरः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्द एवन्तो यजुषि विषये ऽति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

117. In the Yajur-Veda, the word उरस् when changed to उरो, retains its original form when followed by a short अ which is also retained.

Thus उरो अन्तरिक्षम् (Yaj. Veda Vajasan. IV. 7). Some read the sūtra as यजुष्युरोः ॥ They take the word as उरु ending in उ, which in the Vocative case assumes the form उरो ॥ They give the following example उरो अन्तरिक्षं सज्जः ॥ But in the Yajur Veda VI. 11, the text reads उरोरन्तरिक्षं सज्जः ॥ In the Yajur Veda, there being no stanzas, the condition of अन्तः पादं does not apply here.

आपोज्ञाणोवृष्णोवर्धिष्ठेष्टमेवालेम्बिकेपूर्वे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपः, ज्ञाणाः, वृष्णाः, वर्धिष्ठे, अम्बे, अम्बाले, अम्बिके, पूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव। आपो ज्ञाणाणो वृष्णो वर्धिष्ठे इत्येते शब्दा अम्बे अम्बाले इत्येता च यामिन्द्रकेशश्चास्पूर्वो यजुषि पठितौ त आति परतः प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

118. In the Yajur Veda, the short अ is retained after आपो, ज्ञानो, वृष्णो, वर्धिष्ठे, and also in and after अम्बे or अम्बाले when they stand before अम्बिके ॥

Thus आपे अस्मान् प्रातरः शुभ्यन्तु (Yaj. IV. 2). ज्ञाणो अप्तुराज्यस्य (Yaj. V. 35), वृष्णो अशुभ्यां गम्भित्ति पूतः (Yaj. VII. 1). वर्धिष्ठे अधिनाके ॥ The Vajasaneyi Sanhita has वर्धिष्ठपि (V. S. I. 22); The Taittariya Sanhita has वर्धिष्ठे अधि ॥ (I. 1. 8. 1. 4. 43, 2. 5. 5. 4) अम्बे अम्बाले अम्बिके (V. S. 23. 18 where the reading is अम्बे अम्बिकेऽम्बाले) but Tait S. VII. 4. 19. 1, and Tait Br. III. 9. 6. 3 has अम्बे अम्बाल्यम्बिके ॥ The words अम्बे &c, though in the Vocative, do not shorten their vowel by VII. 3. 107, because they have been so read here.

अङ्गैस्यादौ च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गे, इति-आदौ, च' ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गशब्दं य एङ् तस्मै चाकरयः पूर्वः स यजुषि विषये इति प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

119. In the Yajur Veda, when the word अङ्गे is followed by अङ्गे, the subsequent short अ is retained, as well as the preceding ए or ओ ॥

Thus ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अवाध्यत्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अर्नस्थित्, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे निशीतः, ऐन्द्रः प्राणो अङ्गे अङ्गे अर्सोचिष्ठम् (Yaj. 6. 20).

अनुदाते च कुथपरे ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदाते, च, कु-थपरे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदाते चाति कर्वगधकारपरे परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

120. In the Yajur Veda, when an anudātta अ is followed by a Guttural or a ध, the antecedent ए or ओ retains its form, as well as this subsequent अ ॥

Thus अथ सो अग्निः (Yaj. 12. 47), अथ सो अधृतः ॥ Why do we say when अ is gravely accented? Observe अधृतम्, here अधृत् has acute accent on the first syllable. Why do we say "when followed by a Guttural (कु) or a ध"? Observe सोऽयमग्निः सहस्रियः ॥

अवपथासि च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवपथासि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजुषीत्येव । अनुदातात्तिं चशब्देनातुकृष्ट्यते । अवपथाशब्दे अनुदाते इकारातै परतो यजुषि विषये एङ् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

121. In the Yajur Veda, when the gravely accented अ of अवपथास् follows ए or ओ, the vowels retain their original form.

Thus श्री हृद्देभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ The word अवपथाः is 2nd per. Singular Im. perfect of वप in the Atmanepada. Thus अ-वप्-अ-श-ए-थ-ास् ॥ The अ is grave by VIII. 1. 28. When it is not gravely accented, the अ drops. As यद्द्वैभ्यो अवपथाः ॥ Here अ is not grave by virtue of VIII. 1. 30.

सर्वत्र विभाषण गोः ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, विभाषण, गोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र, छन्दसि भाषायां चाति परतो गंतरङ् प्रकृत्या भवति विभाषा ॥

122. After गो the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गोऽमं ओं गो अमं ॥ In the Vedas also अपश्चो वा अन्ये गो अश्वेभ्यः, पश्चो गौऽध्याः ॥

अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवङ्, स्फोटायनस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ असीति निवृत्तम् । असीत्येतत्त्वतुर्वर्ततएव । अचि परतो गोः स्फोटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेनावडानेशो भवति ॥

123. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of अवङ्ग for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvṛitti of भृति ceases, that of आर्थ manifests itself. Thus गौ+अप् = गवामस्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवैश्वनम्, गवाष्ट्रम्, or in the alternative we have गो-इपम्, गोजिनम्, गवैश्वनम्, गवुष्ट्रम् ॥ The substitute अवङ्ग is accutely accented on the first syllable. This accent will be the original accent in the Bahuvrīhi compound (VI. 2. 1). Thus गावा अपमस्य = गेवाअपः ॥ In other places, however, this accent will be superseded by the samāsānta Udātta accent (VI. 1. 223). The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvṛitti of विभाषा was already understood in it. This is a vyāvasthita vibhāṣā, hence in गवाक्षः the अवङ्ग substitution is compulsory and not optional.

इन्द्रे च नित्यम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्द्रे, च, नित्यम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्राब्दस्ये इचि परतो गानित्यमवडोसशो भवति ॥

124. The substitution of अव् for the ओ of गो is compulsory when a vowel to be found in the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्रः ॥ So also गवन्द्र यसः ॥ The word नित्य is not found in some texts or in Mahābhāṣya.

प्लुतप्रगृह्णा अचि ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लुतप्रगृह्णा अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्लुताश प्रगृह्णाश्चाचि प्रकृत्या भवन्ति ॥

125. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc.) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc.) vowels remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus इवसता इ अत्र न्वति, यज्ञवत्ता इ इत् भानय ॥ These are examples of prolated vowels. The prolongation of vowels is taught in the tripādi or the last three chapters of Ashtadhyāyi; and the tripādi are considered asiddha for the purposes of previous sūtras (VIII. 2. 1.). This is not the case here, otherwise the mention of pluta would be redundant. Of the Excepted or Pragrihya vowels the following are the examples: आनी इति, वायु इति, खद्वे इति, माले इति ॥ Though the anuvṛitti of अचि was current in this sūtra from VI. 1. 77: its repetition here is for the sake of ordaining प्रकृतिभाष ॥ That is, the pluta and the pragrihya retain their original forms when such a vowel follows which would have caused a substitution. Thus जानु उ अस्य, हजाति here in combining जानु+उ into जानू, the उ is no cause of lengthening, therefore, the lengthening will take place. Now since उ is a pragrihya, it follows that जानू, which ends in उ is also a pra-

grihya, and therefore it should not be changed before अ of अस्य ॥ Hence we have the form जान्ू + अस्य = जान्ू अस्य ॥ There may also be the form जान्स्य, not by इकोवण्णि, but by मय उभा वो वा (VIII. 3. 33). In fact, the repetition of आच in this sūtra is necessary, in order to enable us to give this *peculiar* meaning to the sūtra. Otherwise, had the sūtra been simply प्लुतप्रग्रिया:, it would have been translated ordinarily thus: "The Pluta and Pragrihya retain their form, when ever a vowel follows". Therefore in जान्ू उ अस्य, since उ is followed by a vowel, it will retain its form, and will not coalesce with the उ of जान्ू ॥ But this is not intended. Hence the repetition of the word अचि, and the peculiar explanation given above, namely, Pluta and Pragrihyā vowels retain their form before a vowel which would otherwise have caused a substitution, but it would not prevent the operation of any other rule. Therefore in जान्ू उ अस्य हजाति, the उ + उ will become lengthened, because अ is not the *cause* of lengthening; it causes the change of उ to औ, which of course is prevented. The word निति of the last sūtra is understood here also. These pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given in VI. I. 127.

आङ्गोऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्गः, अनुनासिकः, छन्दसि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गोऽचि परतः साहिनायां छन्दसि विषये ऽनुनासिकादेशो भवति स च प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

126. For the adverb आ, is substituted in the Chhandas the nasalised ओँ, when a vowel follows it, and it retains its original form.

Thus अभ्य ओँ अपः (Rig V. 48. 1); गमीर ओ उमपुत्रे जिघांसतः (Rig VIII. 67. 11). Some read the word बहुल into this sūtra. Hence there is coalescence here: इन्द्रो वाहुव्यामातरत् = आ अतरत् ॥

इकोऽस्त्रणे शाकल्यस्य हस्तश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, अस्त्रणे, शाकल्यस्य,
हस्तः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इकोऽस्त्रणे इचि परतः शाकल्यस्याभाव्युत्य मतेन प्रकृत्या भवन्ति, हस्तश्च तस्यकः स्थाने भवति ॥
स्त्रियसमात्रोः शाकलप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ईषाअक्षारिषु छन्दसि प्रकृतिभावमात्रं वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a nonhomogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus इथि अच, मधु अच, कुमारि अच, किंशोरि अच ॥ In the alternative we have इथ्यत्र, मध्यत्र, कुमार्यत्र, किंशोर्यत्र ॥ Why do we say 'the इकः' vowels i. e. simple vowels with the exception of अ'? Observe खेद्वन्द्वः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by a non-homogenous vowel'? Observe कुमारीन्द्रः ॥ The name of

Sākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation.

Vart :—This rule of Sākalya is prohibited in the case of words formed by an affix having an indicatory स् and of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa) :—Thus अयं से योनिर्विद्यः, प्रजाः विद्यम् कृत्विद्याम्. The word कृत्विद्या is formed by a सित् affix, namely by घस् (V. I. 106), added to कृतु ; and therefore the उ is changed to इ ॥ Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16) Of nitya-compounds are वैद्यकरणः, सौवश्वः, व्याकरण, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2. 18 &c.

Vart :—In the Vedas ईषा अक्षः &c are found uncombined. As, ईषा अक्षा, का ईमिरे पिशांगिला, यथा अङ्गरः, पथा अगमन् &c.

अङ्गुत्यकः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋति, अक्षः, (प्रकृत्याः) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ शाकल्यस्य हस्तवेतदनुवर्तते । ऋक्वार परतः शाकल्यस्थाचार्यस्य मतेनाकः प्रकृत्या भवत्ति, हस्तवश्च तस्याकः स्थाने भवति ॥

128. According to the opinion of Sākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus खट्टा कृत्यः, कुमारि कृत्यः, लोतु कृत्यः ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ ? Observe, खट्टन्दः ॥ Why do we say “the simple vowels (अक्षः)” ? Observe बृक्षावृश्यः (बृक्षाः + कृत्य) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also.

अङ्गुतवदुपस्थिते ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ , प्लुत - वत् , उपस्थिते, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ उपस्थितं नामानार्थं इतिकरणः समुदायावच्छिद्य पवै येन स्वरूपे उपस्थिते समिन्परतो उप्लुतवदवति ॥ प्लुतकार्यं प्रकृतिभावं न करोति ॥

129. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts ; i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the Pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. I. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोकाः इति = सुश्लोकेति, सुमङ्गला इति = सुमङ्गलेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् “like as” ; instead of saying “the Pluta becomes Apluta” why do we say “Pluta is treated like apluta” ? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakriti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and

the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी or वायृ, the इ and औ are pragrihya. They may be made plutा also a अग्ना॒ इ or वायृ॒ इ ॥ Now if before इति, the plutा became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति वायृ इति formed by अग्नी॑ इ + इति॑ &c. For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, and in additon to that they will lose their plutा, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the plutा is heard in अग्नी॑ इ इति, वायृ॑ इ इति ॥

ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ई३, चाक्रवर्मणस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ई॒३ कारः प्लुतो ऽचि परतश्चाक्रवर्मणस्याद्यस्य मतेनाप्लुतवद्वति ॥

130. According to the opinion of Châkrapârmanâ, the pluta $\ddot{\text{E}}$ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Ishti :—This apluta-vad-bhâva applies to plutâ vowels other than इ; as वशा ई इयम् or वशेयम् ॥

दिव उत्र ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, उत्र ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एडः पदान्तादतीयतःपदमणमनुवर्तते । इव इति प्राति पदिकं गृह्णते न धातुः, सानुबन्धकस्वात् ॥

131. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of ऽ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

The portion प० of the word पदान्त must be read into this sūtra from VI. 1. 109. The word विष् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus विषि कामो यस्य = शुक्रामः, शुभान्, विमलशु दिने, शुभ्याम्, शुभिः ॥ We have said that विष् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter anuban-dha and should have been read as विष्ट् ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for ऊ by VI. 4. 19. In that case we shall have अक्षश्चयाम्, अक्षश्चूभिः ॥ The उ० with a त् shows that short ऊ is meant, and debars ऊठ (VI. 4. 19). In the case of ऊ० substitution the forms will be शुभ्याम्, शुभिः ॥ The ऊ० also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra. Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, विषः ॥

• पत्तदोः सु लोपे इकोरनभस्मासे हलि ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्त - तदोः-, सु लोपः-, अकोः-, अ - नभ - समासे -, हलि, ॥

मृत्तिः ॥ एतस्त्रै यावककारौ न भूतमासे न वर्तते तयोर्यः सुशब्दः कथं तयोः सुशब्दो वस्तदेयेन संवद्धस्त-
स्य संहितायां विषये हलि परतो लोपो भवति ॥

132. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स्त्र (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + इशति = एष इशति, स इशति, एषभुडन्ते, स भुडन्ते ॥ Why do we say of एतद् and तद्? Observe यो इशति, यो भुडन्ते ॥ Why do say "the case affix of the Nom. singular?" Observe एतौ गायौ चरतः ॥ Why do we say 'without क'? Observe एषको इशति, सको इशति ॥ The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकन्त्र, which falls in the middle, would be considered just like एतत् and तत् without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition. The general maxim is : तन्मध्यपतिस्त-स्तद् महेण गृह्णते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it'.

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe अनेषो इशति, असो इशति ॥ In the compound with the negative particle अन्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽन्, सोऽन् ॥

स्यश्छन्दसि वहुलम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, छन्दसि, वहुलम्, (सोः, लोपः,) ॥
मृत्तिः ॥ स्य इत्येतस्य छन्दसि हलि परतो बहुलं संलोपो भवति ॥

133. In the Chandas, the case-affix of the nominative singular is diversely elided after स्य, when a consonant follows it.

Thus उत्त स्य वाजी क्षिपणे तुरण्यति प्रीवायां बद्धो अपिकक्ष आसनि (Rig IV. 40. 4),
एष स्य ते मधुमां इन्द्र सोमः (Rig IX. 87. 4) ॥ Sometimes it does not take place : as
वा स्यो निष्टेत् ॥ The स्य means 'he'.

सोऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अचि, लोपे, चेत, पाद-
पूरणम्, ॥

मृत्तिः ॥ स इत्येतस्याचि परतः सुलोपो भवति लोपे सति खेष्यादः पूर्यते ॥

Kārikā • सैष वाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः ॥

सैष कर्णो महात्मानी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

134. The case-affix of सत्र 'he', is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेतु राजा लक्ष्मि अर्जनीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीत्तुलभ्यते (Rig VIII. 43.
9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say

'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इव व्याप्रो भवत् ॥ The word भवति in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness: for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same. It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened; and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. Some explain the word पाद as 'a foot of a Sloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only. Thus we have:—सैष शाशर्थी रामः, सैर्व राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैष कर्णो महात्मागां, सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

सुद्ध कात्पूर्वः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुद्ध, कात्, पूर्वः, ॥

बृन्दः ॥ अधिकारोत्तं, पारस्करपभूतीनि च संज्ञायामिति यावत् । इत उत्तरं यद्वक्त्रामस्तव सुडिते कात्पूर्व इति चेततपिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

135. Upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the following sentence is to be supplied in every aphorism:—"before क् is added स्" ॥

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 1. 157. Whatever we shall teach hereafter, in all those, the phrase 'the augment सुद्ध is placed before the letter क्' should be supplied to complete the sense. Thus VI. 1. 137 teaches "After सम्, परि and उप when followed by the verb क्, the sense being that of adorning". Here the above phrase should be read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. "the augment स् is added before the क् of क् when it is preceded by सम्, परि and उप, and the sense is that of adorning". Thus सम्+स् +क्+त् = संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुष्, संस्कर्तव्यष् ॥ In the succeeding aphorisms it will be seen that the augment सुद्ध comes only before those roots which begin with क् ॥ What is then the necessity of using the phrase कात्पूर्वः in this sūtra? It is used to indicate that the स् remains unattached to क्, though it stands before it. Thus though क् becomes स्क्, yet the latter should not be considered to be a verb beginning with a conjunct (sanyoga) consonant: and therefore the guṇa taught in VII. 4. 10 (the root ending in क् and preceded by a conjunct letter, takes guṇa before लिङ्) does not apply, nor do the rules like VII. 4. 29, nor the rules ordaining the addition of intermediate इट् (VII. 2. 43) by which the इट् would come in लिङ् and सित् (Imperfect and Aorist): as, संस्कर्ता and समस्कृतः; and so also VII. 4. 29, does not apply as संस्कियते the Passive Imperfect (यक्ति लिङ्) of संस्कृतः ॥ If so, then the anudātta accent taught in VIII. 1. 28 would not take place, since the augment सुद्ध would intervene between the non-तिङ्-word सैष and the तिङ्गन् word करोति, thus संस्करोति would have accent on the verb. It is a maxim स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् 'in applying a rule relating to accept the intervening consonants are considered as if non-existent'; and therefore सुद्ध does not offer any intervention to the application of the rule VIII. 1. 28. If स् is not to be taken as attached to क्, how do you explain

the guṇa in the Perfect 3rd Per. Dual and Plural in संचस्करतुः and संचस्कहः which apparently is done by applying VII. 4. 10. Though that rule strictly applies to roots beginning with a conjunct consonant, it will apply also to roots like संक्लृ which have a conjunct consonant for their penultimate; and the guṇa is done also on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् प्रहणेन गृह्णते (See VI. 1. 132). The indicatory इ in मुट is for the purpose of differentiating it from मु in the Sūtra VIII. 3. 70.

अडभ्यासव्यवायोपि ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अट्, अभ्यास - व्यवाये, अपि ॥
शृन्तः ॥ अडव्यवाय अभ्यासव्यवाय सुद् कात्पूर्वे भवति ॥

136. The augment मुट् is placed before क even when the augment अट् (VL 4. 71) or the Reduplicate intervenes (between the preposition and the verb).

Thus समस्केरात् (—सम्+अकरोत्), समस्कार्षीत्, संचस्कार (=सम्+चकार), परिचस्कार ॥ This sūtra is not that of Pāṇini, but is "made out of two Vārtikas: अड् व्यवायउप संख्यानाम्; and अभ्यासव्यवाये च ॥" The augmented root स्क् would have given the form चस्कार by VII. 4. 61, if स् be considered an integral part of क्, and no rule of Antaranga and Bahiranga be taken into consideration. It might be said where is the necessity then of this sūtra? The operation relating to a Dhātu and Upasarga is Antaranga, i. e. a root is first joined with the Upasarga, and it undergoes other operations afterwards. Therefore, first the augment मुट् is added, and then the अट् and अभ्यास operations take place. Thus संक्लृ is the form to which अट् and अभ्यास operations are to be applied. Now, we have said in the foregoing aphorism, that मुट् is considered as unattached to क; and therefore, the augment अट् may be added after this मुट्, and so also the reduplication may take place without it. Thus we may have the forms like संस्करोत् and संस्कार ॥ But this is not desired, hence the necessity of the present sūtra teaching that even after अट् and reduplicate, the मुट् must be placed before क and nowhere else.

संपर्युयेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम् - परि - उपष्टयेः, करोतौ,
भूषणे ॥

शृन्तः ॥ सम् परि उप इत्यतेभ्यो भूषणार्थं करोतौ परतः मुट् कात्पूर्वे भवति ॥

137. The augment मुट् is placed before क when सम्, परि and उप are followed by the verb क् and the sense is that of ornamenting.

Thus संस्कर्ता, संस्कर्तुम्, संस्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The म् of सम् is changed to anuśvāra by VIII. 3. 5. So also परिष्कर्ता परिष्कर्तुं परिष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ The स् is changed to ए by VIII. 3. 70. So also with उप, as उपष्कर्ता, उपष्कर्तुम् उपष्कर्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say

'when meaning to ornament'? Observe उपकरोति ॥ Sometimes मुद्द comes after सम् even when the sense is not that of ornamenting : thus संष्कृतमन्त्रम् ॥

समवाये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवाये, (च मुद्द) वृत्तिः ॥ समवायः समुदायस्तस्मिन्नार्थे करोतौ संपर्युपम्यः कात्पूर्वः उडागमो भवति ॥

138. The augment मुद्द is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after सम्, परि and उप, the sense being that of combining.

The word समवाय means aggregation. Thus सत्र नः संष्कृतम् तत्र नः परिष्कृतम्, तत्र नः उपश्कृतम् = समुक्तिम् that is 'we assembled there'.

उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, प्रति, यत्, वैकृत, वाक्य - अध्याहारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सतो गुणान्तराधानमाधिक्याय वृद्धस्य वा तात्त्वस्थाय समीहा प्रतियत्नः । विकृतमेव वैकृतम् । प्रज्ञाविस्वाक्षण । गम्यमानार्थस्य वाक्यस्य स्वस्फैर्णपादानं वाक्यस्थाध्याहारः । एतच्छर्थेषु गम्यमानेषु करोतौ धातौ परत उपात् मुद्द कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥

139. The augment मुद्द is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप, and the sense is that of 'to take pains for something, to prepare, and to supply an ellipsis in a discourse'.

To take pains in imparting a new quality to a thing in order to increase its value, or to keep it safe from deterioration is called प्रतियत्नः ॥ That which is prepared or altered is called वैकृतं ॥ The word वैकृत is the same as विकृतं, the affix अ॒॒ being added without changing the sense, by considering it to belong to प्रज्ञाविं class (V. 4. 38). To supply by distinct statement the sense of a sentence which is alluded to, is called the अध्याहार of a sentence. Thus in the sense of 'taking pains' we have एथोऽकास्थाप्तस्कृतं (See I. 3. 32); काण्डगुणस्मैपः स्कृतं ॥ In the sense of 'altering by preparing' we have: उपस्कृतं भुइन्कं, उपस्कृतं गच्छति ॥ In the sense of 'supplying a thesis' we have उपस्कृतं जल्पत, उपस्कृतं मधीते ॥ When not having any one of the above five senses (VI. I. 137-139) we have उपकरोति ॥

किरतौ लवने ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ किरतौ, लवने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपादित्येव । उपादनास्तिन्निकरतौ धातौ लवनविशये मुद्द कात्पूर्वो भवति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ एमुलब्रवक्तव्यः ॥

140. The augment मुद्द is placed before क, when the verb कृ comes after उप and the sense is that of 'to cut or split',

Thus उपस्कारं मद्रका लुनन्ति, उपस्कारं काश्मीरका लुनन्ति - विभिन्नं लुनन्ति ॥

Vart :—The above augment takes place when जम्बूः is added to the verb उप-कृ, as shown in the above examples. When the meaning is not that of ‘to cut’, the form is उपकिरति ॥

हिंसायां प्रतेश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसायाम्, प्रतेः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । उपात्पते शोन्तरसिन्किरतौ हिंसायां विषये सुट् काम्पूर्वो भवति ॥

141. The augment सुट् is placed before कृ, when the verb कृ comes after उप and प्रति, and the sense is “to cause suffering”.

Thus उपस्कारण् or प्रातस्काण हन्त ते वृषल भूयात् = तथा ते वृषल विक्षपो भूयाद् थथा हिंसामनुबध्नाति ॥

Why do we say when ‘the sense is to cause pain’? Observe प्रतिकर्णिष्व ॥

अपात्पाच्छुकुनिष्वालेखने ॥ १४२ ॥ प्रदानि ॥ अपात्, चतुष्पात्, शुकुनिषुः, आलेखने (सुट्,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किरतावित्येव । अपादुन्तरसिन्किरतौ चतुष्पाच्छुकुनिषु, यशलेखनं तस्मिन् विषये सुट् काम्पूर्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेविति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ हर्षजीविकाकुलायकरणेविति किरतेरात्मनेपद्योपसंख्यानम् ॥

142. The augment सुट् is placed before कृ, when the verb कृ comes after अप and the sense is ‘the scraping of earth by four-footed animals or birds’.

Thus अपस्किरते वृषभो हृषः, अपस्किरते कुकुटो भक्षयार्थः; अपास्करत श्वा भाश्यर्थाऽथा भालिष्य विक्षिपति ॥ Why do we say ‘four-footed animals or birds’? Observe अपकिरते वैवर्णः ॥

Vart :—This rule applies when the scraping is through pleasure, or for the sake of finding food, or making a resting place. Therefore not here :—अपकिरति श्वा शोदनपिण्डमाश्चितः ॥ And it is in the above senses of scraping through pleasure &c, that the root takes Atmanepada affixes; otherwise the Parasmaipada affixes will follow. See I. 3. 21. *Vart*.

कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जातिः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणि, जातिः, (सुट्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुस्तुम्बुरुणीति सुट् निपात्यते जातिश्चेदवति ॥

143. The word कुस्तुम्बुरुः is irregularly formed with the augment सुट् and means ‘a species of herb’.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of coriander : i. e. धान्यकं; the seeds are also so called. The exhibition of the word in the sūtra in the Neuter gender does not however show that the word is always Neuter. When not meaning coriander, the form is कुस्तुम्बुरु (कुस्तितानि तुम्बुरुणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree.

अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरस्पराः, क्रिया - सातत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपरस्परा इति षुट् निपात्यते क्रियासातत्ये गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā लुभ्येवक्षयम् क्रये तुक्रामनसोरपि ।
समो वा हिततयोर्भांसस्थ पच्चियुद्घञ्चोः ॥

144. The word अपरस्पराः is formed by the augment षुट् when the sense is that of ‘uninterrupted action’.

Thus अपरस्पराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ When the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरपराः सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परं च सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥ The सातत्य comes from सततं, by adding च्छ to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भावः (V. I. 123) = सातत्यं ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम् ? The म् of सम् is optionally elided before तत्, on the strength of the Kārika:—“The म् of अवश्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kṛtya affix, the म् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस्, the म् of सम् is elided optionally before हत् and तत्, the final अ of मांस is elided before पाक or पचन ॥ As (1) अवश्य कर्तव्यं = अवश्यकर्तव्यं, (2) भोत्कुम् कामः = भोत्कु कामः, भोतुमनः ॥ (3) समाहितं = सहितं, सम् तत् = सततं ॥ (4) मांस पाकः, मांस पचनम् ॥

गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः-पदम्, सेवित - असेवित - प्रमाणेषु ॥

145. The word गोष्पद is formed by षुट्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity.

Thus गोष्पदे देशः = गावः पद्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशो स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्पद by itself does not mean ‘not visited by cows’. Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense. So also गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रं, गोष्पदपूर्वं वृष्टो देवः ॥ Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land and rain. When it has not the above senses, the form is गोष्पदम् = गोः पदम् ॥ What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra, the word गोष्पद will give अगोष्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद = अगोष्पद ? The force of न भ् compound is that of सदृश “like that but not that”. As अब्राह्मण means “a man who is a Kshatrya &c. not a Brāhmaṇa; but does not mean a stone &c”. Therefore अगोष्पद with न भ् would mean “a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing”. But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used. Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद ॥

आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आस्पदम्, प्रतिष्ठायाम्, (षुट्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आस्मयापनायस्थानं प्रतिष्ठा तस्यामास्पदमिति षुट् निपात्यते ॥ १ ॥

146. The word आस्पद is formed by सुद when meaning ‘a place or position’.

The word प्रतिष्ठा means ‘firm place, established position, rank, dignity, authority’. Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लक्ष्यम् ॥ Why do we say when ‘meaning a place’? Observe आ पश्चात् = आपदम् ॥

आश्र्यमनित्ये ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्र्यम्, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनित्यतया विश्वभूतया इहुत्तर्वामहलक्ष्यते तस्मिन्नाश्र्यं निपात्यते । चरोडि चागुराविति यथा-त्वये कृते निपातनात्सुद ॥

147. The word आश्र्ये is formed by सुद, when meaning something ‘unusual’.

The word आश्र्ये is formed by adding the affix यत् to the verb आश्रय with the preposition आ, and the augment सुद ॥ Thus आश्र्ये यदि स भीजात, आश्र्ये यदि सो इधीयते ॥ When not having this sense, we have आश्र्यं कर्म शोभनम् ॥

वर्चस्के इवस्करः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्चस्के, अवस्करः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुत्सितं वच्च, वर्चस्कमन्नमलं, तास्मिन्नाभिधेये इवस्कर इति निपात्यते । अवपूर्वस्य किरतेः कर्मणि इदापि इत्यपि निपातनात्सुद ॥

148. The word अवस्कर is formed with सुद meaning “excrement”.

That which has bad lustre is called वर्चस्क (कुत्सितं) ॥ It applies to the ejected food. To the root कृ is added the affix अप् (III. 3. 57), the preposition अव and irregularly the सुद ॥ Thus अवस्करोऽन्नमलम् ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called. When not having this sense, we have अवस्करः ॥

अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपस्करः, रथाङ्गम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपस्कर इति निपात्यते रथाङ्गं चेद्वति । अपपूर्वाकिरते र्वेरावित्यपि, निपातनात् सुद ॥

149. The word अपस्कर is formed with सुद meaning ‘the part of a chariot’.

This word is also derived from कृ with the preposition अप् and the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and सुद augment. When not having this meaning, we have अपस्करः ॥

विष्करः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्करः, शकुनिः, विकिरः, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकिर इति किरते वपूर्वस्य युग्मधज्ञाप्रीकिरः कः इति कप्रत्यये विहते सुद निपात्यते शकुनिभृष्टव-वर्ति । विकिरश्चाभिधेयो वा शकुनिभेवति ॥

Verse सर्वे शकुनयो भक्षया विष्कराः कुक्कुटादते ।

150. The word विष्कर is formed with सुद optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विकिर ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III. I. 135) to कृ with the preposition वि and the augment सुट् ॥ The word विक्रि also refers to birds only, a kind of cock. The phrase शकुनिर्विक्रिरा वा is added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra. Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भृशा विक्राः कुकुटादत् ॥ Though the sūtra विक्रीवाशकृतौ would have given the optional form विक्र, the specific mention of this form in the sūtra indicates that विक्र always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विक्र would have referred to some thing other than a bird.

हस्त्वाच्यन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्त्वात्, चन्द्रोत्तरपदे, मन्त्रे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चन्द्रशष्ठउत्तरपदे हस्त्वात्पदः मुडागमो भवति मन्त्रविषये ॥

151. In a Mantra, the सुट् is added to चन्द्र when it is second member in a compound and is preceded by a short vowel.

Thus सुष्टन्द्रो गुष्मान् ॥ Why, do we say after a short vowel? Observe सूर्यचन्द्रमसामिव ॥ Why do we say 'in a Mantra'? Observe, सुष्टन्द्रा पौर्णमासी ॥ The उत्तरपदे can only be in a compound (samāsa) as it is well-known to all, and it does not mean, 'the second word', as the literal meaning might convey: Therefore the rule does not apply here शुक्रमसि अन्द्रमसि ॥

पतिष्कशश्च फरेः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पतिष्कशः, च, फरेः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कश गतिशासनयोरित्येतस्य धातोः प्रतिष्वर्वस्य पञ्चाश्याच्च कृते सुट् निपात्यते, तस्येव पत्वम् ॥
Verse माममय प्रवक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः ।

152. To the root कश् 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुट्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कशः ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अश् affix (III. I. 134) to the root, with adding the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus माममय प्रवक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः: 'I shall inspect the town to-day, be thou my emissary'. The word प्रतिष्कशः means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary". Why do we say "to the root कश्"? Observe प्रतिगतः कशां प्रतिकरोऽभः: 'a horse guided by the whip'. Here though कशा is derived from कश्, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word.

प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्कण्व हरिश्चन्द्रौ, ऋषी ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्कण्वो हरिश्चन्द्र इति सुट् निपात्यते ऋषी चेदभिषेयो भवतः ॥

153. The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, meaning the two Rishis of that name.

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषी, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषीः ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI. I. 151 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras. When not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो वशः, (कण्वं पापं तत्प्रगतं यस्मात्) हरिश्चन्द्रा मानवकः (हरिः चन्द्रो यस्य मुख्यस्य) ॥

मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिवाजकयोः ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मस्कर मस्करिणौ, वेणु
परिवाजकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मस्कर मस्करिण् इत्येतौ यथासंख्यं वेणौ परिवाजके च निपात्यते ॥

154. The word मस्कर means 'a bamboo', and मस्करिण् means 'a mendicant monk'.

When not having these meanings, the form is मकरः ॥ This is an un-derived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant; and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिण् ॥ Why do we say "when meaning a bamboo or a mendicant". Observe मकरोमाहः "an alligator", मकरो समुद्रः "an ocean". Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle ना and the affix अच्, the long आ being shortened. Thus ना किञ्चत यन प्रातोपथ्यते=मस्करः 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made'. So also by adding इनि in the sense of ताच्छाल्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada ना; we get मस्करिण् ॥' Thus ना करणशाला=मस्करी "a monk, who has renounced all works". A mendicant always says "ना कुरुतः कर्माण शान्तिर्बः शेयसी"—"Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end".

कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्तीर, अजस्तुन्दे, नगरे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कास्तीर अजस्तुन्दे इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यते नगरे इमिधेष्वे ॥

155. The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्दे are names of cities.

When not meaning cities, we have कातीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य); and अजतुन्दम् (अजस्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

कारस्करो वृक्षः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारस्करः, वृक्षः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कारस्कर इति सुट् निपात्यते वृक्षभेदवत्ति ॥

156. The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'.

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट् (III. 2. 21)=कारस्करः ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकरः ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism.

पारस्करप्रभूतीनि च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पारस्कर प्रभूतीनि, च,
संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पारस्करप्रभूतीनि च शब्दरूपाणि निपात्यन्ते संज्ञायां विषये ॥

157. The words पारस्कर &c are Names.

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुट् ॥ Thus पारस्करः 'a country called Pâraskara'; कारस्करः 'N. of a tree', रथस्या 'N. of a river', किञ्चकुः 'N. of a measure', किञ्चिन्या 'N. of a cave', तस्कर 'a thief', formed by inserting सुट् in the compound of तत्+कर, and eliding त् ॥ वृहस्पति 'N. of a Diety', formed similarly by inserting सुट् between वृहत्+पति and eliding the त् ॥ Why do we

say when meaning a thief and a diety? Observe तत्करः, बृहस्पतिः ॥ The words चेत् and देवता are used in the Ganapâtha merely for the sake of diversity, the word संज्ञा would have connoted that प्रस्तुम्पति गाः ॥ When the root तुप् तुम्प 'to injure' is preceded by the preposition अ, there is added सुद् to अ, when the agent of the verb is a cow. Why do we say 'when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रतु-म्पति वमस्पति: ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुद् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated:—प्रस्तुम्पति गाः, प्रस्तुम्पती गार्वां, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गामः ॥ This is an ākritigaṇa. Thus प्रायश्चिन्म, प्रायश्चित्तिः ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रथस्या नदी, 4 किञ्जुः प्रमाणम्, 5 किञ्जिकन्या गुहा, 6 तद्बृहतोः करपतोश्चोरेवतयोः सुद् तलापञ्च (तस्करः चेतिः बृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पतौ गत्रि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गाः) ॥ आकृतिगणः ॥

अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तम्, पदम्, एक-वर्जम् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ परिभाषेय स्वरावधिविषया । यत्रान्यः स्वर उदात्तः स्वरिता वा विधीयते तचानुदात्तं पदमेकं वर्जयित्वा भवतीत्येतदुपस्थितं द्रष्टव्यम् ॥

Kārikā आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्यवस्थ च ।

पृथक् स्वरानि वृत्यर्थमेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विभक्तिस्वरान्त्रभूत्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

धा० ॥ विभक्तिनित्यस्वराच्छन्भूत्वरो बलीयानिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

158. A word is, with the exception of one syllable, unaccented.

That is, only one syllable in a word is accented, all the rest are anudâttâ or unaccented. This is a Paribhâshâ or maxim of interpretation with regard to the laws of accent. Wherever an accent—be it acute (udâttâ) or a circumflex (svarita)—is ordained with regard to a word, there this maxim must be applied, to make all the other syllables of that word unaccented. The word अनुदात्त means 'having an anudâttâ vowel'. What is the *one* to be excepted? That one about which any particular accent has been taught in the rules here-in-after given. Thus VI. I. 162 teaches that a root has acute accent on the final. Therefore, with the exception of the last syllable, all the other syllables are unaccented. 'Thus in गोपायत् the acute accent is on य, all the rest are unaccented. The root accent is superseded by आ accent, thus लुनीति has acute accent on ना ॥ The आ accent is superseded by तस् accent, as लुनीतैः, has accent on तः ॥ The तस् accent is superseded by आम् accent, as लुनीतस्तरैः ॥'

आगमस्य विकारस्य प्रकृतेः प्रत्यवस्थ च, पृथक् स्वरानि वृत्यर्थमेकवर्जं पदस्वरः ॥ The words 'with the exception of one syllable' show that the separate accent of an augment, or a preparative element, or a stem or an affix should cease, when a particular accent is taught for a word'. Thus as to (1) augment:—VII. I. 98 teaches "आम् acutely accented is the augment of चतुर् and अनडूह् when a sarvanâmsthâna affix follows". Thus चत्वारः, अनडूहः, here the augment-accent

supersedes the accent of the stem, for चतुर् was acutely accented on the first syllable, so also अनडुह्, these being formed by the affixes उरन् and असुन् respectively. Thus चत्+उरन्=चैतुर् (चतेश्वर् Un V. 58, accent VI. 1. 197) ; अनडुह् is thus derived : अनो वहति = अनस् + वह् + क्रिप् ; the स् is replaced by ह्, and there is vocalisation of व् of वह् VI. 1. 15 = अनडुह् ॥ This word is formed by a Kṛit affix with a kārāka upapada, therefore, the second term will retain its original accent, namely the final acute of a root. (VI. 1. 162 and VI. 2. 136) अनस् itself is derived by adding the affix (Un IV. 189) असुन् which makes the word acutely accented on the first syllable. (2) Similarly as to विकार (Vikaraṇa):—VII. 1. 75 teaches “instead of आस्थ, इधि, सीविधि, and आक्षि, there shall be अनह् acutely accented when ए follows or any of the subsequent terminations beginning with a vowel”. This अन् will supersede the acute accent of the first अ of the stem : as अस्थैनि ॥ The word अस्थि is derived from अस् by adding the affix कथिन् (Un III. 154) which makes the word acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is an example of विकार ॥ (3) Similarly in गोपायति the accent of the stem taught in VI. 1. 162 ‘a root has an accent on its final’, supersedes the accent of the vikaraṇa आय (III. 1. 28, 3), i. e. the acute accent on आ in आय gives way to the root-accent which makes य acute. (4) So also the accent of the affix supersedes that of the stem : as कर्तव्यम्, and हतव्यम्, which are formed by the affix तव्यन् (III. 1. 96) here VI. 1. 185 debars the accent of the root (VI. 1. 162).

The determination of the proper accent of a word depends upon considering the various rules that have gone to form it, and the sequence of those rules, e. g. a latter rule (पर) superseding a prior rule, a nitya rule superseding an anitya rule, an antaranga superseding a bahiranga, an apavāda rule superseding an utsarga rule. But another test is, what is the remaining rule that applies after giving scope to all. A rule, that in spite of another rule, finds scope or activity, bars that former rule. Thus गोपायति ॥ It is derived from गृष् root, which as a root has accent on the syllable गृ (VI. 1. 162). When the affix आय is added to it by III. 1. 28, the word becomes गोपाय and it takes the accent of the affix (III. 1. 3), i. e. the accent now falls on पा ; but now comes rule III. 1. 32, which says that a word taking the affix आय is a root. Thus गोपाय gets the designation of root (धातु), and thus takes the accent of a dhātu (VI. 1. 162), and the accent fails on य ॥

The rule is that except one special accent taught in a sūtra the other syllables take anudatta. Therefore, where there is a conflict of rules, the accent is guided by the following maxim: “पुरानित्यान्तरङ्गापवादैः स्वैरव्यवस्था सतिप्रकृतिशिष्टेनच” ॥ namely (1) the sequence, a succeeding rule setting aside a prior rule (2) a Nitya rule is stronger than Anitya, (3) Antaranga stronger than Bahiranga, (4) the Apavāda is stronger than Utsarga. When all these are exhausted, as we have illustrated above, then we apply the rule of सतिप्रकृतिशिष्टेनच ॥ What is this rule? To quote the words of Kāsikā: यो हि यस्मिन् सति शिष्टते स तस्य बाधको भवति “that which

does remain and must last in spite of the presence of another, debars such other". Thus in गोपाचीति; here the प्रत्ययस्वरः "the accent of the affix" (III. 1. 3) by which the acute is on the first syllable of the *affix* is an apavâda to the धातुस्वरः (VI. 1. 192) by which the final of a dhâtu is acute, and it debars the dhâtu-accent; but this affix-accent is in its turn debarred in the case of derivative verbs formed with affixes, by the rule of सतिशिष्ठ, because even after the addition of the affix, these words *retain* the designation of dhâtu. Similarly in कार्णोन्नरासङ्गपुत्रः; "The son of him whose upper garment (uttarâsanga) is of black color—the Son of Baladeva" the Bahuvrihi-accent (VI. 2. 1) being an apavâda to Samâsa-accent (VI. 1. 223), debars the samâsa-accent; but this Bahuvrihi-accent is in its turn debarred by the rule of सतिशिष्ठ when a further compound is formed and the final word is a compound only and not a Bahuvrihi. Though the accent of the Vikarana is a सतिशिष्ठ, yet it does not debar the Sârvadhâtuka accent (VI. 1. 186). Thus in लुकीतः, the accent of the vikarana नी does not debar the accent of तस् ॥

Vârt:—The नभ्-accent is stronger than the case-affix accent. Thus in धतिसः; here the accent of जस् vibhakti after तिस् (VI. 1. 166) though सतिशिष्ठ is debarred by नभ् accent taught in VI. 2. 2, for Negative compounds are Tat-purusha.

Vârt:—The accent of नभ् is stronger than the accent of that which is caused or occasioned by a vibhakti. Thus अचल्वारः ॥ Here the augment आम् in चल्वार is occasioned because of the case-affix, for it is added only then when a Sarvanâma case-affix follows (VII. 1. 98). This जी is udâttā (VI. 1. 98). But this udâttā is superseded by the accent of the Negative particle.

Why do we say 'in the body of a *pada*'? In a *sentence*, every word will retain its accent. As है वैदस्त ! गौमध्याज शुक्लैम् "O Devadatta, drive away the white cow". The word पद् is in fact used in this sûtra in its secondary sense, namely that which will get the designation of पद् when completed; had it meant the full ready made pada, this word would not have been repeated in पदाधिकार sûtra (VIII. 1. 16, 17). Had a full 'pada' been meant, the incongruity would arise in the following. The word कुवल is acutely accented on the first as belonging to आमादि class (Phit II. 15), adding the feminine affix डीष् to it by its belonging to गौरादि class, we get कुवली, which will retain its acute on the first because it is not technically a पद् ॥ But it is not so, the word कुवली has anudâttā accent on the first syllable (Phit II. 15), and hence we can apply the नभ् affix to it by IV. 2. 44, thus कुवल्या विकारः = कौवलम् ॥ Similarly the word गर्भणी formed from गर्भ (belonging to Grâmâdi class Phit II. 15), with, the affix इनि (V. 2. 115) and the feminine डीष् ॥ If here the affix इनि being udâttâ causes all the rest syllables anudâttâ, just at the very moment of its application, without seeing whether the word was a pada or not, then the word गर्भणी being anudâttâdî would have taken नभ्, and therefore its exception is proper in the भिक्षादि class

(IV. 2. 38). But if the anudatta-hood of the remaining syllables were to follow *after* a word had got the designation of पट्, then the word गर्भणी would remain acutely accented on the first, and its enumeration in IV. 2. 38 would be useless.

कर्षात्वतो घओ अन्त उदात्तः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ष, अत्वतः, घओः, अन्तः, उदात्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्षतेर्थतेराकारवतश्च घञ्जन्तस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

159. A stem formed with the Krita-affix घञ् has the acute accent on the end-syllable, if it is formed from the root कृष् (कर्षति) or has a long आ in it.

Thus कर्षः; पक्रः; व्याहः; राहः; वाहः; धाहः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 197 by which affixes having an indicatory अ have acute accent on the first syllable. The word कर्ष is used in the aphorism instead of कृष्, to indicate that कृष् of Bhvādi gaṇa is affected by this rule, and not कृष्—कृषति of Tūdādi gaṇa. The word कर्षः derived from Tūdādi कृष् has acute accent on the first syllable.

उच्छादीनां च ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छादीनाम्, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छ इत्येवमार्दीनामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

160. The words उच्छ &c. have acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus 1. उच्छः; 2. म्लेच्छः; 3. जज्जः; 4. जन्तः ॥ These are formed by घञ्, and would have taken acute-accent on the first. 5. जपैः; 6. वधः are formed by अप् affix (III. 3. 61) which being grave (III. 1. 4), these words would have taken the accent of the dhātu (VI. 1. 162), i. e. acute on the first syllable. Some read व्यपैः also here. 7. युग्मः is derived from युज् by घञ् affix, the non-causing of guṇa is irregular, and the word means 'a cycle of time', 'a part of a carriage'. In other senses, the form is योगः ॥ 8. गर्तः = (दूष्य); is formed by अप्, and has this accent when it means 'poison', in other senses, the acute is on the first syllable. 9. वगः; वदः; वेदैः (चेष्टः); and वन्धैः, करणैः ॥ These words are formed by घञ् by III. 3. 121. When denoting instrument (करण) they take the above accent, when denoting भाव the accent falls on the first syllable. 10. स्तुयुद्वश्छन्ससैः, e. g. परिष्टुत्, परिद्वुत्, संयुत् ॥ 11. वर्तनिः स्तोत्रे, the stotra means Sāma Veda, the word वृत्तान् occurring in the Sāma Veda has acute on the last: in other places, it has the accent on the middle. 12. अथेऽवरः, the वरः has end-acute when meaning 'a cave', otherwise when formed by अप् affix it has acute on the first. 13. साम्बतापौ भावगहर्याम्, thus साम्बः; त्वापैः, in other senses, the acute is on the first. 14. उज्जमश्वत्तमौ सर्वत्र, e. g. उत्तमैः, शृश्वत्तमैः ॥ Some read the limitation of भावगहर्या into this also. 15. भशमन्यभोगमन्याः (भोगदेहा) ॥ These are formed by पञ्, भक्ष though a पञ्चन् root is here घञ्जन्तं ॥

1 उज्जु, 2 अलेष्टु, 3 ज्ञज्ज, 4 जल्प, 5 जप, 6 वध (व्यध), 7 पुग, 8 गरो दृश्ये, 9 वेद-
वेगवेष्टवन्धाः, (चेष्ट वेष्ट) करणे, 10 स्तुतुवृष्ट्यन्वसि (परित्तुत्, संयुत्, परित्तुत्), 11 वर्तमिः स्तोत्रे
12 श्वर्षे इरः, 13 साम्बतापौ भावगर्हायाम्, 14 उत्तमशश्वत्तमौ (उत्तमशश्वत्तमशश्वत्री) सर्वत्र, 15 भक्षमन्थ-
भोगमन्थाः (भक्षमन्थभोगवेहाः) ॥

अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तस्य, च, यत्र, उदात्त-
लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तते । यस्मिन्ननुदात्ते परत उदात्तो लुप्यते तस्यानुदात्तस्थाविहशत्तो भवति ॥

161. An unaccented vowel gets also the acute accent, when on account of it the preceding acute is elided.

The word *udātta* is understood here. Thus कुमारै + ई = कुमारी॑ ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the last, when the unaccented (anudātta) ई॒ is added to it, the ई॑ is elided (VI. i. 148), the anudātta ई॒ becomes udātta. So also पृथिवै॑ + श्व॒ = पृथ्य॑ः (VII. i. 88), पृथिवै॑ + ए॒ = पृथ्य॑, पृथिवै॑ + आ॒ = पृथ्य॑ ॥ The पृथिवै॑ has acute on the last. So also कुमुदै॑ + इमतुंप॒ = कुमुदै॑न् (IV. 2. 87), नृद्वै॑त्, वृत्स्वत् ॥ The words कुमुद &c, are end-acute, and the affix मत् (वत्) is anudātta (III. i. 4).

Why 'an *anudātta* vowel gets &c'. Observe प्रासङ्गः॑ + वै॒त् = प्रासङ्ग॑वै॒त् ॥ (प्रासङ्ग॑ वहात् IV. 4. 76). Here though प्रसङ्ग॑ is end-acute (VI. 2. 144 formed by घञ् with gati) it is followed by वै॒ which is svarita (VI. i. 185), this svarita causes the lopa of वै॒ उदात्ता: but it does not itself become udātta. No, this is not a proper counter-example. For by the general rule of accent VI. i. 158, when one syllable is ordained to be udātta or svarita, all the other syllables of that word become anudātta. Therefore when वै॒ is taught to be svarita, all the other syllables (like वै॒) will become anudātta. So there is no *lopa* of udātta when वै॒ comes. The word अनुदात्त is used to indicate that the *initial* anudātta becomes udātta. Had anudātta not been used, the sūtra would have been यत्रोदात्तलोपश्च, which would mean यस्मिन् प्रत्यये परत; उदात्तालुप्यते तस्यान्त उदात्तां भवते, for the anuvritti॒ of अन्त would then be read from the last. There would then be anomaly in the case of मा हि धुक्षाताम्, and माहि धुक्षायाम् ॥ From the root दुह् we have formed धुक्षाताम् and धुक्षायाम् in the Aorist Atithancpadā, dual. दुह्॑ + क्ष॒॑ + आताम्॑ = दुह्॑ + स्॒॑ (VII. 3. 72) + आताम्॑ ॥ Here आताम्॑ causes the elision of the udātta अ॑ of स्॒॑ ॥ Therefore the *final* of आताम्॑ would be udātta, which is not desired. The augment अ॑ is not added because of मा, had it been added, the अ॑ would have been udātta (VI. 4. 71). Had हि not been given, then also the whole of धुक्षाताम्॑ would have become anudātta in माधुक्षाताम्॑ because of तिद्वर्तङः॑ (VIII. i. 28). See VIII. i. 34 (हि च). Why have we used the word यत्र in the sūtra? If it was not employed, then the subsequent anudātta may be such which would not have caused the elision of the previous udātta; such udātta being elided by some other operator, and still such anudātta would have become udātta. Thus in भार्गवः॑, भार्गवौ॑, भृगवः॑ ॥ Here भृगवः॑ is plural of भार्गवः॑ ॥ The word भार्गवः॑ is end-acute and this acute (अ॑) was elided in the plural, before the affix अ॒ was added.

The elision here is not *caused* by जस्, but is a subject of जस् (not निमित्त but विषय). Therefore जस् does not become *udātta*, which would have been the case, had यज् not been used. प्राक् सुबृत्पत्ते गोत्रप्रत्यस्य लुक् ॥ The gotra affix was elided prior to the adding of the case-ending. Why do we say "when an *udātta* is elided"? Observe बद् + अन् (IV. 1. 104) = बद् ॥ The feminine of this will be बद् + डीन् (IV. 1. 73 = बैदा ॥ Here इ causes the elision of au^ñdātta अ of द्, and hence remains unchanged. So also आं शी ॥

धातोः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्येव । धातोरन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

162. A root has the acute on the end-syllable.

The word अन्त is understood here. Thus वैचति, वैठति, ऊँडति, गोपवैति, वैति ॥

चितः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितः, (अन्तः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चितो इन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

163. A stem (formed by an affix or augment or substitute) having an indicatory च, gets acute on the end syllable.

Thus भयुर्म्, भासुर्म्, मेदुर्म्. These are formed by धुरच् III. 2. 161. So also कुण्डिनाः by II. 4. 70 where the substitute कुण्डिनच् is employed. To कुण्ड is added इन in the sense of मनुष्, then is added the feminine affix डीप, thus कुण्डिनी has middle-acute. The descendants of Kunda^ñini will be कौण्डिन्यः (by यज् of Gargādi). The plural of Kunda^ñinya will be formed by eliding यज् and substituting कुण्डिनच् for the remaining portion. In the cases of affixes having an indicatory च, the acute accent falls on the final, taking the stem and the affix in an aggregate. Thus बहुपटः ॥ The affix बहुच् is one of those few affixes which are really prefixes. (V. 3. 68). The accent will not, therefore, fall on ह्, but on the last syllable of the whole word compounded of the prefix + the base. So also with the affix अक्रच्. It is added in the *middle* of the word, but the accent will fall on the *end*; as उच्चैकः (V. 3. 71).

तद्वितस्य ॥ १६४' ॥ पदार्नि ॥ तद्वितस्य, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित इत्येव । चितस्तद्वितस्यान्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

164. A stem formed with a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory च, has acute on the end syllable.

Thus कौञ्जायनाः formed by the affix चक्रम् (IV. 1. 98). कुञ्ज + च कर् + यन् = कौञ्जायन् यः dual कौञ्जायन्या, pl. कौञ्जायनाः (यन् being elided by II. 4. 62, and thus giving scope to चक्रम् accent). In this affix there are two indicatory letters च and म्; the च has only one function, namely, regulating the accent according to this rule, while म् has two functions, one to regulate accent by VI. 1. 197, and another to cause Vṛiddhi by VII. 2. 117. Now arises the question, should the word get the accent of च or of म् ॥ The present rule declares that it should get

the accent of च and not of अ, for the latter finds still a function left to it, while if अ was to regulate the accent, च would have no scope.

कितः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कितः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वितस्थेत्रे । तद्वितस्य कितोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

165. A stem formed by a Taddhita affix having an indicator क, has acute accent on the end syllable.

Thus नाडाण्यन्: formed by फक् (IV. 1. 99), so also चाशाण्यन्: ॥ Similarly धामिकैः, शालाक्रिकैः formed by डक् (IV. 4. 1).

तिसृभ्यो जसः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिसृभ्यः; जसः, (अन्तः, उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृभ्य उत्तरस्य जसोन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

166. The Nominative plural (जस्) of तिसृ has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus त्रिसृस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥ This debars the Svarita accent ordained by VIII. 2. 4. The word तिसृ (semiminute of त्रि VII. 2. 99) meaning 'three' is always plural. There are no singular or dual cases of this numeral ; of the seven plural cases, the accusative plural will have acute on the final by VI. 1. 174 ; the remaining cases (Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative) have affixes beginning with a consonant, and by VI. 1. 179 they will be udātta. Thus the only case not covered by any special rule is जस् (nom. pl) ; which would have been Svarita, but for this rule. If जस् be the only case not provided for, then merely saying तिसृः would have sufficed to make the rule applicable to जस् only, why has then it been employed in the sūtra ? This is done, in order that in compounds, where तिसृ may come as a subordinate member, and where singular and dual endings will also be added, this rule will not apply. Had जस् been not used in this sūtra, then in the case of simple तिसृ there would be no harm, but when it is seconded member in a compound there would be anomaly. Thus अतितिसृ would have become अतितिसृ. But that is not desired. It is svarita on the final by VIII. 2. 4. •

चतुरः शसि ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुरः, शसि (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चतुरः शसि परतो उत्त उशस्तो भवति ॥

167. The word चतुर्, followed by the, accusative plural, has acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus चतुरः एश्व the accent is on तु ॥ The feminine of चतुर् is चतसृ (VII. 2. 99), which has acute accent on the first (VII. 2. 99 वृत्त), and its accusative plural will not have accent on the last syllable, This is so, because चतुर् has acute on the first, as formed by उत्त affix. Its substitute चतसृ will also be so, by the rule of स्थानिवृत् ॥ The special enunciation of आशुशत् with regard to चतसृ in the Vārtika चतसर्याशुशतनिपातनं कर्तव्यं (VII. 2. 99) indicates that the

present rule does not apply to चतस् ॥ Another reason for this is as follows: चतस् + शस् = चतस्र + शस् ॥ Now comes the present Sūtrā; here, however, the र् substitute of अ being sthārivat, will prevent the udātta formation of the अ of स; nor will अ be considered as final and take the acute, as there exists no vowel ए but a consonant ए which cannot take an accent. As चतस्रः पश्य ॥ Professor Bohtlingk places the accent thus चतुरः; Pro. Mäx Muller चतुरः ॥ I have followed Prof. Mäx Muller in interpreting this sūtra; for Bohtlingk's interpretation would make the ending शस् accented, and not the final of चतुर् ॥

सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, एकाचः, तृतीयादिः, विभक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साविति सप्तमीबहुवचनस्य लुशब्दस्य महणम् । तत्र सौ य एकाच् तस्मात्परा तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

168. The case-affixes of the Instrumental and of the cases that follow it have the acute accent, if the stem in the Locative Plural is monosyllabic.

The word सौ (locative of सु) refers to the सु of the Locative plural. Thus व्राचा॑, व्राम्य॑म्, व्रग्न॑ः॒, व्रात॒॑, व्राद्य॑म्, व्राद्व॑ः॒ ॥ Why do we say 'in the Locative plural'? Observe रौजा॑, रौजे॑ ॥ Why do we say 'monosyllabic'? Observe हैरिणा॑, गिरिणा॑, रौजु॑ ॥ Why do we say 'the Instrumentals and the rest'? Observe वौन्तरा॑, वौन्तमा॑ ॥ The plural of the Locative being taken in the sūtra, the rule does not apply to स्वया and स्वयि॑, as in the *plural* of the Locative they have more than one syllable, though in *singular* locative their stem has one syllable.

अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तोदात्तात्, उत्तरपदात्, अन्यतरस्याम, अनित्यसमासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्याच्य इनि इत्यते, हृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरिति च । नित्यशब्दः स्वर्यते । तेन नित्याधिकारविहितः समासः पूर्वुद्द्वयते । नित्यसमासादन्यत्रानित्यसमासे यदुत्तरपदमत्तादात्तमेकाचा तस्मात्परातृतीयादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यामुदात्ता भवति ॥

169. The same case endings may optionally have the acute accent, if the monosyllabic word stands at the end of a compound, and has acute accent on the final, when the compound can be easily unloosened.

The phrases "एकाचः" and तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः are understood here also. The nitya or *invariable* compounds are excluded by this rule. Thus पूरम्ब्रांचा॑ or पूरम्ब्राचा॑, परम्बांचे॑ or ब्रांचे॑; परम्बांचः॑ or ब्रांचः॑ ॥ So also पूरम्बै॑चा॑ or ब्रै॑चा॑ &c. According to VI. i. 223, the compounds have acute accent on the final: that rule applies in the alternative when the case-affixes are not acute and gives us

the alternative forms. Why do we say 'is acutely accented on the final'? Observe भौवाचा, सुंवाचा, सुरवाचा ॥ These are Tatpurusha compounds and by VI. 2. 2. the first term of the compound retains its original accent. Why have we used the word 'standing at the end of a compound' when the word नित्यसमासे indicated that the compound was 'meant'? Had we not used the word उत्तरपशात्, the aphorism would have stood as, अन्तोशानादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे 'In a loose-compound having acute on the final, the above affixes are acute, if the compound consists of a monosyllable'. The word एकाचः will thus qualify the compound and not the second member of the compound, which is intended. And thus the rule will apply to इवार्कं (शून ऊर्कं) Ins. श्वोर्जा, श्वोर्जः &c, and not to compounds having more than one syllable. Why do we say 'in loose compounds'? Observe अग्निर्वचिता, सोमसुता ॥ These words form invariable (nitya) compounds by II. 2. 19, and by VI. 2. 139, the second member retains its original accent, which makes चि udātta.

अञ्चेश्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अञ्चेः, छन्दसि, असर्वनामस्थानम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः परा इसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति छन्दसि विषेधे ॥

170. In the Chandas, the case-endings other than the sarvanāmasthāna, get the acute accent when coming after अञ्च ॥

In the Vedas, a stem ending in the word अञ्च, has the acute not only on the affixes previously mentioned, but on the accusative plural affix also. Thus इन्द्रा तुरीचौ अस्थभिः (Rig I. 84. 13). Here the word तुरीच् had accent on ची by VI. 1. 222, but by the present sūtra, the accent falls on the case-affix अस् ॥ Though the anuvritti of "Instrumentals and the rest" was understood here, the word asarvanāmasthāna has been used here to include the ending शस् also. As प्रतीचौ वाहून् प्रतिभङ्गेषाम् ॥

ऊदिदमपदाद्यपुष्टैद्युभ्यः ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊद, इदम्, पदादि, अप, पुम्, रै, चुभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऊद इदम् पदादि अप् पुम् रै दित् इत्यतेऽयो इसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिरुदात्ता भवति ॥

171. The same (asarvanāmasthāna) case-endings have the acute accent, when the stem ends in वाह्, also after इदम्, after पद् &c (upto निश् VI. 1. 63), after अप, पुंस्, रै and दिव् ॥

The ऊद is the substitute of the वा of वाह् (VI. 4. 132) and not the ऊद taught in VI. 4. 19 &c. Thus प्रवृद्धौहैः, प्रवृद्धौहौ, but not in अक्षण्युवा (Ins. sing of अस्थयूः derived by ऊद substitution of व् in अक्षरित् VI. 4. 19 &c). इदम्—आभ्याम्, एविः The anuvritti of "अन्तोशानात्" is understood here, therefore, when the word

इत् is not end-acute, this rule will not apply. When, therefore, there is anvâdesa under II. 4. 32, the final being anudâtta, this rule does not apply, as अथो अँम्बा निषुणमधीत ॥ The पठावि words are पद्, स्त् &c upto निश् in VI. 1. 63. Thus निषुरैष्टुरे अहि, या तु तांभावाति, अर्पः पदयः, अर्द्धयः, पुंसः, पुम्याम्, पुम्यैः, पुंसौ, पुंसैः, राखः पदय, राम्याम्, रामैः, रिवैः, तिवैः, दिवैः ॥ As regards the other cases of दित् the accent is governed by VI. 1. 183. The word असन् and those which follow it, in VI. 1. 63, are not governed by this rule, because they consist of more than one vowel, and the anuvritti of एकाच्च : is understood here from VI. 1. 168. When these become monosyllable by the elision of अ (penultimate), then the vibhakti will be udâtta by VI. 1. 161 even after these. The case endings after these words are of course, anudâtta, except when these words become monosyllabic :—As भीषाणं दद्धो अपि कश्च आतैनि, मत्स्यं न हीन उर्वनि क्षियन्तं ॥

अष्टनो दीर्घात् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, दीर्घात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनो शीर्घातादसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिशशाता भवति ॥

172. The asarvanâmâsthâna case-endings after अष्टन् 'eight', have acute accent, when it gets the form अष्टा ॥

The word अष्टन् has two forms in the acc. pl. and the other cases that follow it, namely अष्टा and अष्ट ॥ The affixes of acc. pl. &c are udâtta after the long form अष्टा and not after अष्ट ॥ Thus अष्टुमिः opposed to अँमिः, अष्टायः con. अष्टम्यः, अष्टायुः con. अष्टम् ॥ The word अष्टन् has acute on the last syllable, as it belongs to the class of घटावि words (Phit I. 21); and by VI. 1. 180 the accent would have been on the penultimate syllable. This rule debars it. The use of शीर्घात् indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long अ taught in VII. 2. 84, thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication. Otherwise the employment of the word शीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII. 2. 84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word शीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII. 2. 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sûtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI. 1. 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word शीर्घात् would become useless.

शतुरनुमो नद्यजादी ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शतुः, अनुमः, नदी, अजादी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तोदाशाविति वर्तते । अनुम् यः शतूप्रत्यस्तास्ताइन्तोशास्तास्परा नशी अजासिर्विभक्तिरसर्वना-
मस्थानषुशाता भवति ॥

वर्त्तिकम् ॥ शृहन्महतीष्पसंख्यानम् ॥

173. After an oxytone Participle in अत् the feminine suffix ई,(nadi). and the case endings beginning with vowels

(with the exception of strong cases) have acute accent, when the participial affix has not the augment अ॒ (i. e. is not अन्त्).

The word अन्तोदाता॑त् 'after an oxytoned word' is understood here. Thus तु॒हती॑, तु॒हती॑, लु॒नती॑, पु॒नती॑, तु॒दत्ती॑, लु॒नत्ती॑, सु॒नत्ती॑ from तु॒हत्, तु॒हत् लु॒नत् and पु॒नत् ॥

Why do we say "not having the augment अ॒?" Observe तु॒हन्तो॑, तु॒ह-
न्ती॑ ॥ Here also by VI. i. 186, after the root तु॒ह which has an indicatory अ॒, in the Dhātupāṭha, being written तु॒ह, the sārvadhātuka affix शत् (अ॒त्) is anudātta. This anudātta अ॒त्, coalescing with the udātta अ॒ of तु॒ह (VI. i. 162), becomes udātta (VIII. 2. 5); and Rule VIII. 2. 1 not being held applicable here, the Participle gets the accent, and not the feminine affix. Why do we say "a नशी (feminine in ई) word and before vowel-endings?" Observe तु॒है॒ध्याम्, तु॒है॒ध्याम् &c. If the participle is not an oxytone, the rule does not apply. As इ॒हती॑, है॒धती॑ ॥ Here the accent is on the first syllable by VI. i. 189.

Vart :—The words बृहती॑ and महती॑ should also be included : as बृहती॑
महती॑, बृहती॑, महती॑ ॥

उदात्तयणे॑ हलूर्वात् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ उदात्, यणः॑, हल॑, पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ उदात्तस्थयेण यो यण हलूर्वस्तस्मात्परा नदी॑ अजात्क्रिया॑ इसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिश्वाचा॑ भवति॑ ॥
वार्त्तिकम्॑ ॥ नकारभ्रहण॑ च कर्त्तव्यम्॑ ॥

174. The same endings have the acute accent, when for the acutely accented final vowel of the stem, a semi-vowel is substituted, and which is preceded by a consonant.

Thus कृत॒॑+ई॑=कृती॑ ; कृत॒॑, हृत॒॑, प्रलृत॒॑वी॑, प्रलृतिवी॒॑ ॥ प्रसृतिवी॒॑, प्रसृतिवी॒॑ ॥ All these are तृच् ending words and have consequently acute accent on the final (VI. i. 163). Why 'acutely accented final vowel is replaced &c' ? Observe कै॒त्री॑, कै॒त्रा॑, है॒त्री॑, है॒त्रा॑, formed by तृ॒न् having acute on the first syllable. Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe बृहतित्तद॑—बृहतित्तद॑ आदाण्या॑ (VIII. 2. 4) बृहति॑ तित्तदि॑ अस्या॑ इति॑ ब्रह्मत्री॑हः॑ ॥ This compound with बृ॒ह॒ gets udātta on the final by VI. 2. 175. In making the Instrumental singular of बृहतित्तद॑, the तृ॒ह॒ is replaced by तृ॒न्, but as this तृ॒न् is preceded by a vowel, the affix gets the svarita accent.

Vart :—The rule applies when the stem ends in तृ॒, though not in a semi-vowel, as वाकृपदी॑, चितृपदी॒॑ ॥

नोऽ॒ धात्वोः॑ ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि॑ ॥ तृ॒, ऊऽ॒, धात्वोः॑ ॥

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ ऊऽ॒ धातोश्च य उदात्तयणे॑ हलूर्वस्तस्मात्परा उजायसर्वनामस्थानविभक्तिर्नोश्वाचा॑ भवति॑ ॥

175. But not so, when the vowel is of the feminine affix ऊ॑ (IV. 1. 66), or the final of a root.

After the semi-vowel substitutes of the udātta ऊ॑ (IV. 1. 66) or of the udātta final vowels of the root, when preceded by a consonant, the weak case-

endings beginning with a vowel do not take the acute accent. Thus अद्यात्मन्त्री, अद्यात्मन्त्रै, धीरुत्मन्त्रा, धीर त्रुत्मन्त्रै from धीरुत्मन्त्रै, which has acute accent on त्रै, because त्रैम् is udātta (III. 1. 3), and the ekadeśa of it, when it combines with the preceding vowel is also udātta (VIII. 2. 5). The उ substituted for त्रै before the ending आ, is a semi-vowel substitute of an udātta. (उशात्तयण) the affix after it would have become udātta by the last sūtra; but not being so, the general rule VIII. 2. 4 applies and makes it svarita. Let us take an example of a semi-vowel substitute of the vowel of a root (धातु-यण):—सकृल्ला, सकृल्लै; खल्लै from सकृल्लौ, खल्लौ formed by क्रिए affix, the second member of the compound retaining its original accent, namely, the oxytone, the semi-vowel being substituted by VI. 4. 83 before the vowel case-endings.

हस्वनुडभ्यां मतुप् ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्व, नुडभ्याम्, मतुप् ॥
धृतिः ॥ अन्तोशात्तादित्येव । हस्वात्तावन्तोशात्तानुटभ्यपरोमतुड् उशात्ता भवति ॥
शात्तिकम् ॥ रेशब्दात् मतुप् उशात्तस्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ वाऽ ॥ चेष्ट प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

176. The otherwise unaccented मत् (त्रैत्) takes the acute accent, when an oxytoned stem ends in a light vowel, or the affix has before it the augment न् (VIII. 2. 16).

The word अन्तोशात्तात् is understood here also. Thus अग्रिमौन्, शायमौन्, कर्तृमौन्, ईर्षमौन् ॥ So also when मतुप् takes त्रै, as अक्षुपैता, श्रीरूपैता ॥ Here by VII. 1. 76, the word अक्षि takes अन्त् and becomes अक्षन्, then is added त्रै by VIII. 2. 16, and we have अक्षन् न् मतुप् ॥ The preceding त् is elided. When the stem is not oxytone (antodātta) this rule does not apply: as वैचुमान् ॥ The word वैचु has acute on the first syllable, as it is formed from वैस् with the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10) which is नित् (Uṇ I. 9) so the मतुप् retains its anudātta here. So also in the case of अहस्वात्, the affix does not become acute, though the word मर्हत् has acute on the final as the intervening त् makes the त् of रु heavy when the affix is added: the general maxim स्वरुपिधौ व्यञ्जनम् विद्यमानश्वत् does not apply here, because the very fact that न् is only taken as an exception, shows this.

Vart:—The affix मतुप् becomes acute after the heavy vowel of रे: as अरेवैन् = रविरस्यूप्ति ॥ There is vocalisation of य् of रयि, as र इ इ then substitution of one, as र इ, then गुण, इ ॥

Vart:—The prohibition should be stated after चिः: as विवरीर्यात्यामु-
षाक्या भवन्ति ॥

नामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
धृतिः ॥ हस्वप्रणमतुवर्त्तने मतुब्रप्रहणं च । तेन मतुपा हस्वो विद्येष्वते । मतुपि यो हस्वस्तदन्तावन्तोशा-
त्तादन्यतरस्यां नाम् उशात्तो भवति ॥

177. After an oxytoned stem which ends in a light vowel, the genitive ending नाम् has optionally the acute accent.

Thus अग्नीनाम् or अङ्गीनाम्, वायूनाम् or वायूनाम्, कर्त्त्वाम् or कर्त्त्वाम् (see VII. I. 54). It might be objected, that नाम् is not preceded by a short vowel, as is shown in the above examples, then how can the 'anuvritti of इत्यत्र 'short or light vowel' be read into this sūtra? The reply is that the anuvritti of मतुप् should also be read into this sūtra, the meaning being "a stem which has a light vowel when followed by मतुप्, will cause the नाम् acute, though the light vowel may become heavy before this ending, in its present form". Otherwise, this rule will apply to forms like तिसृष्टाम्, चतुर्ष्टाम् having light vowels before नाम् and not to the forms above given. Why do we read नाम् with the तु उड़ augment (VII. I. 54) and not आम्? The rule will not apply to धन्वाम् शक्त्वाम् which get the acute on the final by VI. I. 174. Why do we say 'after a stem ending in a light vowel'? Observe कुमारीज्ञाम् (the word कुमारी is end-acute by Uṇ III. 138 and so is कुमारी by VI. I. 161). Why do we say after an oxytoned word? Observe वैष्णवाम्, वैसुनाम् the words वैष्णव and वैसु have acute on the first syllable.

ख्यात्वन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चाः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥
शृणुः ॥ उच्चन्ता उच्चन्त्वासि विषये नामुशाचो भवति बहुलम् ॥

178. In the Chandas, the ending नाम् has diversely the acute accent after the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus देवसनानाम् अभिभञ्जतीनाम्, बह्वीनाम् पिता ॥ Sometimes it does not take place, as मर्वीनाम् पारे; जयतीनाम् महतः ॥

षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, त्रि, चतुर्भ्यः, हलादिः ॥
शृणुः ॥ अन्तोशाचादिलेतन्निवृत्तम्। षट्संज्ञकायस्त्व चतुर्हत्यां च परा इलादिर्विभक्तिस्त्रशाना भवति ॥

179. The case-endings beginning with a consonant, have the acute accent after the Numerals called षट् (I. I. 24), as well as after त्रि and चतुर् ॥

The anuvritti of अन्तोशाचाद् ceases, for the present rule applies even to words like वैचत् and वैत् which are acute on the initial by Phit II. 5. Thus षट्ज्ञाम्, षट्भैः, षट्भ्यः, एताम्, सप्ताम्, त्रिभैः, त्रिभ्यः, चतुर्भैः, चतुर्भ्यः (See VII. I. 55). Why do we say 'before case-affixes beginning with consonants'? Observe षट्तमः पदय (VI. I. 167 and VII. 2. 99).

श्ल्युपोत्तमम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञलि, उपोत्तमम् ॥

शृणुः ॥ षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो या श्लादिर्विभक्तिस्त्रश्नते पदे ददुपेत्तमुशाचं भवति । त्रिप्रभृतीनामन्त्युषुक्तम् तत्त्वम् य यत्तदुपेत्तमम् ॥

180. The above numerals, when taking a case-affix beginning with a भ् or स्, get the acute accent on the penultimate syllable, when the said numerals assume a form consisting of three or more syllables.

The numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् when ending in a case-affix beginning with a क्ष्यर् consonant, form a full word (पद), in such a word the penultimate syllable gets the acute accent. The very word penultimate shows that the पद must be of three syllables at least. Thus पञ्चभिः, सप्तभिः, तिसौभिः, चतुर्भिः ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with षट् and सप्त्'? Observe, पञ्चानाम्, सप्तानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'the penultimate syllable'? Observe षड्भिःः, षड्भ्यः ॥

विभाषा भाषायाम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, भाषायाम् ॥
शृणुः ॥ षट्भिं चतुर्यो या ह्यलादिर्विभक्तिस्तदन्तं पदं उपान्तमसुदान्तं भवति विभाषा भाषायां विषये ॥

181. In the Secular language this is optional.

The ह्यलादि case-affixes coming after the above numerals षट्, त्रि and चतुर् may make the words so formed take the acute on the penultimate optionally, in the spoken ordinary language. Thus पञ्चभिः or पञ्चभ्यः ॥ In the alternative VI. i. 179 applies. So also सप्तभिः or सप्तभ्यः, तिसौभिः or तिसौभ्यः ॥

न गोश्वन्त्साववर्णराङ्गुङ्कुङ्कुदध्यः ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न गोश्वन्, सौअवर्ण,
राङ्, अङ्गु, शुङ्गु, कुङ्गु, कुदध्यः ॥

शृणुः ॥ गोश्वन् साववर्ण सौ प्रथमैकवचने यद्वर्णान्तं राङ् अङ्गु कुङ्गु कुदध्य इत्येतेभ्या यदुन्तं तत्र भवति ॥

182. The foregoing rules from VI. i. 168 downwards have no applicability after गो, and श्वन् and words ending in them; nor after a stem which before the case ending of the Nominative singular has अ or आ, nor after राज्, or after a stem ending in अञ्च, nor as well as after कुञ्च and कृत् ॥

Thus गौवा, गौवे, गौव्याम् ॥ Here by VI. i. 168, the case-endings would have got otherwise the accent, which is however prohibited. So also सुर्युना, सुर्युवे and सुर्युव्याम् ॥ Here VI. i. 169 is prohibited. So also शैना, शैन, श्वेयाम्, परमशुना, परमशुन and परमश्वेयाम् ॥ The word साववर्णः (सौ अवर्णः) means 'what has अ or आ before शु' (1st. sing.) Thus श्वेयः, श्वेयः, केयः ॥ राजः—रौजा, रौजे, परमरौजा ॥ (The word राज is formed by क्रिप् affix): अङ्गु = अञ्च + क्रिप्; the prohibition applies to that form of this word wherein the nasal is not elided (VI. 4. 30). Thus प्राञ्चना, प्राङ्गुव्याम् ॥ Where the nasal is elided, there the case-ending must take the accent; as प्राञ्चा, प्राञ्चे प्राङ्गुव्याम् ॥ कुङ्गु is also a क्रिप् formed word. Thus कैञ्चना, कैञ्चने, परमकैञ्चना ॥ कृत् is derived from कृ 'to do' or from कृत् 'to cut' by क्रिप्; as कैता कैते and परमकैता ॥ Why has the word श्वन् been especially mentioned in this sūtra, when the rule would have applied to it even without such enumeration, because in the Nominative Singular this word assumes the form श्वा and consequently it is साववर्णः? The inclusion of श्वन् indicates that the elision of न should not be considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule. Therefore, the present rule will not apply to words like न् and पितृ which in Nom. Sing. end in आ, as ना and पिता after the elision of न् of अनङ्गु (VII. 3. 94). Thus the Locative Singular of न् will

be नार् by VI. i. 168, this prohibition not applying, and the affix मतुष् will get उदात्ता after पिता by VI. i. 176 as पितृमौत् ॥ But rule VI. i. 176 will be debarred by the present in the case of वृक्षवान् because वृक्ष is a साम्बर्ण ॥

दिवो इल् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, इल् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः परा इलादिर्विभक्तिनांशता भवति ॥

183. After दिव् a case-ending beginning with भ or स is unaccented.

Thus द्युम्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ This debars VI. i. 168, 171. Why do we say 'beginning with a हन् consonant'? Observe दिवौ, दिवे ॥

नृ चान्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येवसाम्परा इलादिर्विभक्तिरन्यतरस्यां नोशता भवति ॥

184. After नृ, a case ending beginning with भ or स is optionally unaccented.

Thus नैभिः or नृभिः, नैम्यः, नृभ्यः, नैम्याम्, नृभ्याम्, नैयु, नृयु ॥ But not so आँ, आँ ॥

तित्रस्वरितम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्र, स्वरितम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तित्रस्वरितं भवति ॥

185. An affix having an indicatory त्, is svarita i. e. has circumflex accent.

Thus चिक्रीर्यम्, जिङ्गीर्यम्, formed by अन् (III. i. 97), कार्यम्, हार्यम् with अन्यत् (III. i. 124). This is an exception to III. i. 3 which makes all affixes अद्युदात्ता. For exception to this rule see VI. i. 213 &c.

तास्यनुदात्तेनुङ्गिददुपदेशालुसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विडोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥
तासि, अनुदात्तेत्, उङ्गिद, अदुपदेशात्, ल, सार्वधातुकम्, अनुदात्तम्, अ-हु, इडोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तासेनुदात्तेनुङ्गितोऽकारान्तोपदेशाच शब्दात्परं लभार्वधातुकमनुसम्बन्धं च भवति हुङ्ग इड इत्यताम्यां परं वर्जयित्वा ॥

186. The Personal-endings and their substitutes (III. 2. 124-126) are, when they are सूरवाधृतुका (III. 4. 113 &c), unaccented, after the characteristic of the Periphrastic future (तासि), after a root which in the Dhātupāṭha has an unaccented vowel or a ऽ (with the exception of हुङ्ग and इड) as indicatory letter, as well as after what has a final अ in the Grammatical system of Instruction (upadeśa).

Thus तासि :—कर्ता॑, कर्त॑र॒, कर्ता॑र॒; this debars the affix accent (III. i. 3). Anudāttet :—as, आस्—आस्ते, वस्—वस्ते ॥ उङ्ग :—उङ्ग—हुङ्ग, शीङ्ग—शेते ॥ अन् उपदेशः :—as हुङ्गतः, हुङ्गतः, वैचतः, पैठतः ॥ A root taking शप् (अ) is considered as

taught (upadeśa) as if ending with an अ, as the indicatory letters ए and औ are disregarded on the maxim अनुबन्धस्वानैक्रान्तिकालं (= अनवर्यवलं) || Thus पैचमासः, षज्जमानः || The augment मुक् is added by आने मुक् VII. 2. 82 which may be explained in two ways; first, the augment मुक् is added to the final अ of the base (aṅga) when आन (आनच् &c) follows; or secondly, the the augment मुक् is added to the base (aṅga) which ends in अ, when आन follows. In the first case मुक् becomes part and parcel of अ and will be taken and included by the enunciation of अ, and therefore अद्युपदेश will mean and include an अ having such मुक्, on the maxim यशागमास्तद्वृणीभूतास्तद्भवेण गृह्णन्ते "That to which an augment is added denotes, because the augment forms part of it, not merely itself, but it denotes also whatever results from its combination with that augment". Therefore मुक् will not prevent the verb becoming अद्युपदेश || But if secondly मुक् be taken as part of the base which ends in अ, then the लसार्वधातुक does not follow an अद्युपदेश, because म intervenes. But we get rid of this difficulty by considering मुक् augment as Bahiranga and therefore asiddha, when the Antaranga operation of accent is to be performed. The augment मुक् (म्) in the last two examples consequently does not prevent the application of the rule. Though the affix शान्तच् has an indicatory औ, yet चित् accent (VI. 1. 163) is debarred by this rule, as it is subsequent.

Why do we say after तासि &c. Observe चितुतः चित्वन्तिः || The vi-karaṇa शु is डित् (I. 2. 4) with regard to operations affecting the prior term, and not those which affect the subsequent. Therefore though शु is considered as डित् for the purposes of preventing the guṇa of the prior term चि, it will not be considered so for the purposes of subsequent accent. Or the word डित् in this sūtra may be taken as equal to डिद्युपदेश and not the आतिदेशिक इत् like हन् ||

Why do we use the word upadeśa? So that the rule may apply to पैचासः, षचामः, but not to हनः, हथः the dual of हन् which ends in न् in upadesa, though before तस् and यस् it has assumed the form ह् || Therefore हन्तः हयः || Why do we use the word ल (Personal endings)? Observe कर्ताह पैचमाना formed by शानन् added to औ (III.2.128), which not being a substitute of ल्, is not a personal ending like शानच् || Why do we use the word Sārvadhātuka? Observe शिश्य, शिश्यान्, शिद्विश्ये || Why do we say with the exception of हन्त् and हय्? Observe हन्ते तत्, यद् अधीने ||

आदिः सिचो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, सिचः, अन्यतरस्याम, वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्त इति वर्तमे । सिज्जन्तस्यान्यतरस्यामादिस्त्रात्तो भवति ॥ बार्तिकम् ॥ सिच आद्यशास्त्रेऽनिदिपितः पक्षे उदात्तव्यं वक्तव्यम् ॥

187. In सिच् Aorist, the first syllable may optionally have the acute accent.

The word उदात्त is understood here. Thus मा हि कौर्द्धव, मा हि कार्द्धैऽम्; मा हि लैविदाम or मा हि लैविद्धैऽम् ॥ In the last example the accent is on मि; and the

reason why मा and हि are used in these illustrations, has already been explained in VI. i. 161. The indicatory च् of सिच् shows that by VI. i. 163 the acute will be on the otherwise unaccented augment इ॒, when it takes this augment. The सिच् being a वलाहि affix will take the augment इ॒ (VII. 2. 35), and it is a general rule that augments are unaccented; so in the above the वि would have been unaccented, and the accent would have been on the final, but for the indicatory च् of सिच्, which otherwise would find no scope. Thus वि gets acute.

Vart:—An affix having an indicatory प् (पित्) when coming after an Aorist formed by सिच् without the augment इ॒ (अनिद् सिच्) is in one alternative udātta (in the other, it is non-acute). This वार्तिका restricts the scope of the sūtra with regard to पित् affixes. Thus we get the following two forms, which otherwise would have one form only by dhātu-accent, namely, acute on the first, for पित् is anudātta. Thus माहि कार्षम् or मा हि कार्षम् ॥ But when it takes the इ॒ augment, there are two forms (1st.) मा हि लौविषम् as a तिङ्गत्, (2nd.) मा हि लाविषम् accent on वि (VI. i. 163), but never मा हि लाविषम् ॥ When however the augment अ is added, the accent falls on this augment (VI. 4. 71).

स्वपादिहिसामच्यनिटि ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपादि, हिसाम्, अचि, अनिटि ॥

षृतिः ॥ लसार्वधातुकप्रहणं यदनुर्वतेत तद्यनिटिं सम्बन्धादिह सप्तम्यन्तं भवति स्वपादीनां हिसेश्वाजावनिटि लसार्वधातुकं परतो उन्यतरस्यामादिस्वान्तो भवति ॥

188. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable when a Personal-ending, being a Sārvadhātuka tense affix beginning with a vowel, provided that the vowel is not the augment इ॒, follows after स्वप् &c, or after हिस् ॥

The phrase लसार्वधातुके in the locative case is understood here. Thus स्वैपन्ति or स्वैप्तिं, श्वैसन्ति or श्वैसन्तिं, हिसन्ति or हिसैन्ति ॥ The accent on the middle falls by the accent of the affix III. i. 3. Why do we say 'before an affix beginning with a vowel'? Observe स्वप्यात्, हिस्यात् ॥ Why do we say 'not taking the augment इ॒'? Observe स्वपितैः and श्वैसन्तैः ॥ This rule applies to those vowel-beginning affixes which are डिग् ; it does not apply to स्वैपन्ति, हिसैसन्ति ॥

अभ्यस्तानामादिः ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यस्तानाम्, आदिः ॥

षृतिः ॥ अभ्यस्तानामजावनिटि लसार्वधातुकं परत भास्त्रिश्वान्तो भवति ॥

189. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of the reduplicate verbs when followed by an affix beginning with a vowel (the vowel being not इ॒) and being a sārvadhātuka personal ending.

Thus हैवति, हैइतु, हैथति, हैधतु, जैक्षति, जैक्षतुः, जौयति, जौयतुः ॥ Before consonant affixes: हैयात् ॥ Before से॒ र् affixes:—जैक्षितैः ॥ Though, the word भासि was

understood here from the last aphorism, the repetition is for the sake of making this an *invariable* rule and not an *optional* rule as those in the foregoing.

अनुदाते च ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदाते, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानोशाते च लसार्वधातुके परतो भ्यस्तानामादिशातो भवति ॥

190. Also when the unaccented endings of the three persons in the singular follow, the first syllable of the reduplicate has the acute.

The endings तिष् सिष् and मिष् are anudātta (III. i. 4). This sūtra applies to those personal endings which do not begin with a vowel. Thus ईशाति, ईधाति, जिहैते, मिहैते ॥ The word अनुदात् is to be construed here as a Bahuvrihi i. e. an affix in which there is no tidātta vowel, so that the rule may apply when a portion of the affix is elided or a semivowel is substituted : as मा हि सा ईधात्, and ईथात्यन् ॥

सर्वस्य सुषि ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वस्य, सुषि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दस्य सुषि परत आदिशातो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वस्यरा उक्तक्त्वयेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. The acute is on the first syllable of सर्व when the case-endings follow.

Thus सर्वः, सर्वाः सर्वे ॥ Why do we say when the *case-endings* follow ? Observe सर्वतरः, सर्वतमः the acute is on र्व ॥ The word सर्व has acute on the final, as it is so taught in the Uṇādi list by निपातन् ॥ It thus being anudāttādi takes the affix अभ् and forms सार्वः (सर्वस्य विकारः) This rule applies even when the case affix is elided in spite of the prohibition of न लुमताऽङ्गस्य (I. i. 63) : as सर्वस्तोमः ॥

Vd., t.— The rule does not apply when the affix अक्ष is put in : as सर्वक्षः ॥ Here the accent is on the final by चित् accent (VI. i. 163).

भीहीभृहमदजनभन्दरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी, ही,
भृ, हु, मद, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, जागराम, प्रत्ययात्, पूर्वम्, पिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी ही भृ हु मद जन दरिद्रा जागृ इत्येतेषामभ्यस्तानां लसार्वधातुके पिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुलात्तं भवति ॥

192. In भी, ही, भृ, हु, मद, जन, धन, दरिद्रा, and जागृ, in their reduplicates, the acute accent is, before the sārvadhātuka unaccented endings of the three persons in singular, (पित्), on the syllable which precedes the affix.

This debars the accent on the beginning. Thus विभैति, जिहैति, विभैर्णि, जुशैति, मर्मचू नः परिज्ञा ॥ Here the root मर् has diversely taken in the Chandas the vikaraṇa श्लु, though it belongs to Divādi class. जर्जनन्, इन्द्रम् ॥ The verb is here क्लद् or the Vedic Subjunctive, so also is the next example धनन् from धन धान्ये,

the इ of ति being elided by III. 4. 97, and the augment अट् being added by III. 4. 94 रुद्धेन्त्, ररिद्वैति, जार्गैति ॥ In the case of other verbs we have ईशति ॥ Before affixes which have not the indicatory ए (i. e. all endings other than the three singular endings), the accent will be on the first syllable: as ईरिद्वैति ॥

लिति ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिति ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लिति प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुशत्तं भवति ।

193. The acute accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding the affix that has an indicatory ल् ॥

Thus चिक्कीर्षकः, जैशीर्षकः with the affix प्वुल् (III. 1. 133), भैरिक्कीविधम् and ऐउकार्मैन्तक्तम् with the affixes विथल् and भक्त् (IV. 2. 54) accent on the क्क and फि ॥

आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, णमुलि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः । णमुलि परतो अन्यतरस्यामाविशत्तो भवति ।

194. The first syllable may be optionally acute when the absolute affix णमुल् follows.

Thus लो॒लूयम् or लो॒लूयम् ॥ In the reduplicate form लो॒लृ, the second part लृ is unaccented by VIII. 1. 3. The present sūtra makes लो accented. When लो is not accented, लृ will get the accent by लित् accent. This rule is confined to polysyllabic Absolutives, namely to reduplicated Absolutives (VIII. 1. 4).

अचः कर्तृयकि ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्तृ-यकि ॥

वृत्तिः । उपदेशाइति वर्तते । अजन्ता ये उपरंशे धातवस्तेषां कर्तृयकि अन्यतरस्यामाविशत्तो भवति ।

195. The roots which are exhibited in Dhātu-pāṭha with a final vowel, may optionally have the acute on the first syllable, before the affixes of the Passive (यक्), when the sense of the verb is Reflexive.

The word उपदेश is understood here. Thus लूयते or लूयते केशः स्वयमेव ॥ सौर्यते or सौर्यैते केशः स्वयमेव ॥ When the accent does not fall on the first syllable, it falls on य (VI. 1. 186). This rule applies to जन्, खन्, and सन् when they get the form जायते, सायते and खायते; the long आ (VI. 4. 43) substitute is considered as if these verbs were taught in the Dhātu-pāṭha with long आ ॥ Thus जायते or जायैते स्वयमेव सौयते or सौयैते, स्वयमेव; खायते or खायैते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say 'when ending in a vowel'? Observe भिर्यैते स्वयमेव ॥ Why do we say "when the sense is Reflexive (कर्तृ)"? Observe लूयैते केशरा देशन्तनः ॥

थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, ईडन्तः, वा ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सेटि थलि इट वा उशत्तो भवति अन्तो वा भादिर्वा अन्यतरस्याम् ।

196. Before the ending थ of the Perfect, second person singular, when this ending takes the augment एः; the acute accent falls either on the first syllable, or on this एः, or on the personal ending.

Thus लुलविथ, लुलैविथ, लुलैविथ, and लुलौविथ. As यल् has an indicatory ल्, the syllable preceding the affix may have also the accent (VI. i. 193). Thus we get the four forms given above. In short, with इथ termination, the accent may fall on any syllable. When the थ is not सेद्, the accent falls on the root and we have one form only by लिद् accent (VI. i. 193):—यर्यैथ ॥

अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिति, आदिः, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिति निते च नित्यमादिश्वान्तो भवति ।

197. Whatever is derived with an affix having an indicatory अ or ए, has the acute accent invariably on the first syllable.

Thus गौर्मि with यम् (IV. i. 105), वैष्णवेषकः, अैर्जुनकः with इन् (IV. 3. 98). This is an exception to III. i. 3. When the affixes are, however, elided, the word loses this accent, i. e. the affix does not leave its mark behind, as it generally does by I. i. 62. Therefore गर्माः, विद्वाः, चज्ज्ञाः: having lost अम्, अैर् and कन्, have lost their accent also.

आमन्दितस्य च ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आमन्दितस्य, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आमन्दितस्यादिश्वान्तो भवति ।

198. The first syllable of a Vocative gets the acute accent.

Thus इैशहन् !, इैशहन्तो !, इैशहन्ताः ॥ This debars the final accent ordained by VI. 2. 148. Though the affix may be elided by a लुमान् word (लुक्, लुप् or लुल्), yet the effect of the affix remains behind in spite of I. i. 63. As सैर्पिरगच्छ ! सैपा गच्छत ! ॥

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, मथोः, सर्वनामस्थाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिमप्तिशब्दावौणादिकाविनिप्रत्ययान्तौ प्रत्ययस्वरेणान्तोशान्तौ तयोः सर्वनामस्थाने परत भास्ति-
हगती भवति ।

199. The acute accent is on the first syllable of पथिन् and मथिन् when followed by a strong case-ending.

The words पथिन् and मथिन् are derived by the उण्डि� affix इनि, (IV. 12. and 13) and are oxytone by III. i. 30. They become अद्युदात्ता before strong cases. Thus पैन्थाः, पैन्थानो, पैन्थानः, मैन्थाः, मैन्थानो, मैन्थानः ॥ Before other cases we have:—पथः पश्य, मथः पश्य ॥ The accent is on the final by VI. i. 162, there being elision of the उदात्ता इन् ॥ The rule I. i. 62, about the remaining effect of the affix, does not apply here. As पथिमिथः, has acute on the final of the first

word, by retaining its original accent.

अन्तश्च तवै युगपत् ॥ २०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च, तवै, युगपत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तैवप्रथयान्तस्थान्तश्चशब्दादिश्च युगपदुकान्तो भवतः ।

200. The Infinitive in तवै has the acute on the first syllable and on the last syllable at one and the same time.

Thus कैतर्वै, हृतर्वै ॥ This is an exception to III. I. 3 by which त of तवै ought to have got the accent, and it also countermands rule VI. I. 158 by which there can be only a single acute in a single word,

क्षयो निवासे ॥ २०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षयः, निवासे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षयशब्देन निवासे अभिधृते आशुशान्तो भवति ।

201. The word क्षय has the acute on the first syllable in the sense of 'house, dwelling'.

Thus क्षेये जागृहि प्रपश्यन् ॥ The word is formed by ए affix (III. I. 118) and would have had accent on the affix (III. I. 3). When not meaning a house we have: क्षयो वर्तते इस्थूनाम् ॥ The word is formed by अच् (III. 2. 31).

जयः करणम् ॥ २०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जयः, करणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जयशब्दः करणवाची आशुशान्तो भवति ॥

202. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of जय, in the sense of 'whereby one attains victory'.

Thus जयोऽस्य; but otherwise जयो वर्तते ब्राह्मणानाम् ॥ The former जय is by ए affix, (III. I. 118) the second by अच् (III. 2. 31) ॥

वृषादीनां च ॥ २०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषादीनाम्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृष इत्यवमादीनामादिशब्दान्तो भवति ॥

203. The words वृष &c have the acute on the first syllable.

Thus 1. वृष्टः, 2. जैनः, 3. ज्ञैरः, 4. धृतः, 5. हृयः, 6. गृयः ॥ These are formed by अच् (III. I. 134). The word गृय is from गृ-गायते, irregularly it is treated as गे ॥ 7. नयः, 8. तायः, 9. तयः, 10. चयः, 11. अमः, 12. वेदः, 13. सूदः, 14. वदः (formed by अच् numbers 8 to 11 are not in Kāshika). सूदः is formed by क (III. I. 135) 15. अंशः, 16. गुहा (formed by अच् III. 3. 104), 17. शमरणौ संज्ञाधां संमनै भावकर्मणौ :— शमः and रणः, 18. मन्त्रः (formed by अच् III. I. 134), 19. शान्तः formed by लिङ्, 20. कामः, 21. आमः, both formed by घम्, 22. आरा, 23. धारा, 24. कारा, (all three formed by अच् III. 3. 104), 25. वहः = गोचरादिषु formed by घम् 26. कल्पः, 27. पादः formed by घम्, which may either take the accent indicated by the affix or by VI. I. 159, 28. पदः, 29. ददः ॥ It is आकृतिगण ॥ All words which are acutely accented on the first, should be considered as belonging to this class, if their accent cannot be accounted for by any other rule.

१ वृषः, २ जनः, ३ उवर ४ महः, ५ हयः, ६ गदः, ७ नवः, ८ तायः, ९ तयः, १० चयः*, ११ अमः*, १२ वेदः, १३ मूरः°, १४ अंशः, १५ गुहा, १६ शमरणौ संज्ञायां संमतौ भावक्रमणाः, १७ मन्त्रः, १८ शान्तिः, १९ कामः, २० यामः, २१ आरा, २२ धारा, २३ कारा, २४ वहः, २५ कल्पः, २६ पादः, २७ पयः, २८ इवः, २९ आकृतिगण ॥

संज्ञायामुपमानम् ॥ २०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, उपमानम् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ उपमानशब्दः संज्ञायामाशुश्रान्तो भवति ॥

204. The acute accent falls on the first syllable of that word with which something is likened, provided that it is a name.

Thus चञ्चा, दैत्रिका, खेरकुटी, दौसी ॥ All these are उपमान words used as names of the उपमेय (the thing compared). The affix कन् (V. 3, 96) is elided here by V. 3. 98. It might be asked when कन् is elided, its mark, namely causing the first syllable to be acute (VI. 1. 197), will remain behind by virtue of I. 1. 62, where is then the necessity of this sūtra. The formation of this sūtra indicates that the प्रत्ययलक्षण rule is not of universal application in the rules relating to accent.

When the word is not a Name, we have अग्निर्माणवकः ॥ When it is not an upamāna we have देवदत्तेः (VI. 2. 148).

निष्ठा च द्वचजनात् ॥ २०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, च, द्वच्, अनात् ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तं च द्वच् संज्ञायां विषये आशुश्रान्तं भवति चैवादिराकारो न भवति ॥

205. A disyllabic Participle in त (Nishṭhā), when a Name has the acute on the first syllable, but not if the first syllable has an आ ॥

Thus शैमः, वृद्धः, दैत्यः ॥ This debars the affix accent (III. 1. 3). In non-participles we have दैवैः, भीमैः ॥ In polysyllabic Participles we have चिरान्तेः, रक्षितः ॥ In Participles having long आ in the first syllable, we have, आत्मैः, आर्तैः ॥ When the Participle is not a Name we have, कृतेस्, हतेस् ॥

शुष्कधृष्टौ ॥ २०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क, धृष्टौ ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ आदिश्वरान्त इति वर्तते । शुष्क धृष्ट इत्यतादाशुश्रान्तो भवतः ॥

206: 'Also शुष्क and धृष्ट have acute on the first syllable.'

These are non-Names. Thus शुष्कः and धृष्टः ॥

आशितः कर्ता ॥ २०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशितः, कर्ता ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ आग्राहतशब्दः कर्तुवाची आशुश्रान्तो भवति ॥

207: The word आशित meaning 'having eaten' has acute on the first syllable.

Thus आशितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta, having eaten'. Here it is used as an active participle. The क्त is added to अश् preceded by आ, to form both Active and Passive Participles: which by VI. 2. 144 would have taken acute on the final. This debars that. In the Passive Participle we have आशितैश् देवदत्तेन 'eaten by Devadatta': आशितैस्त्रैश् 'the eaten food'. The former is भावे क्त, the second is कर्मणि क्त ॥

रिक्ते विभाषा ॥ २०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रिक्ते, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रिक्तवद्वै विभाषा आदिश्वान्तो भवति ॥

208. The word रिक्त may have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus रिक्तः or रिक्ते ॥ This debars VI. 1. 204 and 205.

जुष्टार्पिते च छन्दसि ॥ २०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जुष्टा, अर्पिते, च, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे छन्दसि विषयं विभाषा आद्यशान्ते भवति ॥

209. In the Chhandas, the words जुष्ट and अर्पित have optionally the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्टः or जुष्टे; अर्पितः or अर्पिते ॥ In the secular literature the accent is always on the last syllable (III. 1. 3).

नित्यं मन्त्रे ॥ २१० ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जुष्ट अर्पित इत्येते शब्दरूपे मन्त्रविषये नित्यमाद्यशान्ते भवति ॥

210. In the Mantras, these words जुष्ट and अर्पित have always the acute on the first syllable.

Thus जुष्ट इवानामैर्पितं पितृणाम् ॥ Some say that this rule applies only to जुष्ट and not to अर्पित; in which option is allowed even in the Mantra: so that it has acute on the last in the Mantra even: e. g. तस्मिन्स्ताकं विशता न शंकरोर्पितैः ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्डसि ॥ २११ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः, डसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदी मदिकप्रत्ययान्ते इत्तोशान्ते लघोर्डास परत आदिश्वान्तो भवति ॥

211. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Genitive Singular.

This applies when the forms are मन् and तव, and not मे अन्ते ॥ Thus मैम स्वम्, तैव स्वम् ॥ The word युष्मद् and अस्मद् are derived from युष् and अस् by adding the affix मदिक (Un I. 139) युष्मद् + डस् = युष्मद् + अव् (VII. 1. 27) = तव अद् + अश् (VI. 2. 96) = तवै + अश् (VII. 2. 90) = नव (VI. 1. 97). Here by VIII. 2. 5, व would have been udātta, the present sūtra makes त udātta. So also with मम ॥

डयि च ॥ २१२ ॥ पदानि ॥ डयि, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदैरिति वर्तते, आदिश्वाण इति च। इत्येतस्मिश्व परतो, युष्मदस्मदोरादिश्वान्तो भवति ॥

212. The acute accent is on the first syllable of युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Dative Singular.

Thus द्वैयम् and मैसम्, the forms स and मे are not governed by this rule. The making of two separate sūtras is for the sake of preventing the application of यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). Had the sūtra been युष्मश्लमदो डिङ्गतोः, then yushmad in the Dative, and asmad in the Genitive alone would have taken this accent.

यतोऽनावः ॥ २१३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यतः, अनावः ॥

वृत्तिः । निष्ठा च द्व्यजनादित्यतो द्व्यज्प्रहणमनुदर्तेत । यत्प्रत्ययान्तस्य द्व्यच्च आदिरुद्धात्तो भवति न चैत्रौ-
शास्त्रात्परा भवति ।

213. Whatever is formed by the affix यत्, has, if it is a disyllabic word, the acute on the first syllable, with the exception of नावः from नौ ॥

The word द्व्यच्च is understood here from VI. 1. 205. Thus चैयम्, जैयम् (III. 1. 97); कैण्यम्, झौण्यम् (V. 1. 6). This rule debars the Svarita accent required by तित् (VI. 1. 185) ॥ But नौ—नाव्यम् ॥ The rule does not apply to words of more than two syllables, thus:—चिकीञ्यम्, ललाच्यम् ॥

ईडवन्द्वशंसदुहां य्यतः ॥ २१४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईड, वन्द्, वृ, शंस्, दुहाम्, य्यतः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईड वन्द् वृ शंस दुह इत्येतेषां या य्यत् तदन्तस्यादिरुद्धात्तो भवति ।

214. The acute accent is on the first syllable of ईड, वन्द्, वृ, शंस् and दुह, when they are followed by the affix य्यत् ॥

Thus ईडयम्, वैन्यम्, वैर्यम्, वैस्यम्, वैस्या धैतुः ॥ The two letters ण and त् being indicatory, the 'य्यत्' is not included in 'yat' of the last sūtra. The accent would be regulated by त् ॥ The accent of त् however is debarred by this rule. The वृ in the sūtra is वृहृ संभक्तौ of Kriyadi class: the वृहृ of स्वादि class takes kyap affix. See III. 1. 109.

विभाषा वेण्यवन्धानयोः ॥ २१५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वेणु, इन्धानयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेणु इन्धाने इत्येतेषां विभाषा आदिरुद्धात्तो भवति ।

215. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllable of वेणु and इन्धान ॥

Thus वैणुः or वेणुः; इन्धानः or इन्ध्यानः or इन्धानः ॥ The word वैणु is derived by the Upādī affix णु (III. 38), which being a नित् would always have acute on the first. This allows an option. The word इन्धान, if it is formed by आनच्, the affix being a sārvadhātuka is anudātta, and as it replaces udātta final of the root, it becomes udātta (VI. 1. 161), and thus इन्धान gets acute on the middle. It would never have acute on the first syllable, the present rule ordains that also. When वैणु is used as an upamāna वेणुरित्व वेणुः, then it is invariably acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 204).

स्यागरागहासकुहश्वठकथानाम् ॥ २१६ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, क्रथानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः । त्याग राग हास कुह श्वठ क्रथ इत्येतेषां विभाषा भावित्वाचां भवति ।

216. The acute accent is optionally on the first syllables of त्याग, राग, हास, कुह, श्वठ, and क्रथ ॥

Thus त्यागः or त्यागीः, रागः, रागीः, हासः, हासीः ॥ These are formed by अश्व affix and by VI. I. 159 would take acute on the final, this ordains acute on the first syllable also. कुहः or कुहीः, श्वठः or श्वठीः, क्रथः or क्रथीः formed by अश्व (III. I. 13).

उपोत्तमं रिति ॥ २१७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपोत्तमम्, रिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रित्तत्स्थोपोत्तममुशाचं भवति । विप्रभूतीनामृत्यमुशाचं तस्य सर्वैषं यत्तदुपोत्तम् ।

217. What is formed by an affix having an indicatory र, has acute on the penultimate syllable, the full word consisting of more than two syllables.

A penultimate syllable can be only in a word consisting of three syllables or more. Thus कर्णीयम् and हर्णीयम् formed by अनीयर् (III. I. 96); पदुजातीयः, मृदुजातीयः by जातीयर् (V. 3. 19). This debars III. I. 3.

चड्डन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चड्डि, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चड्डन्ते अन्यतरस्यामुण्ठतममुशाचं भवति ।

218. The acute accent may be optionally on the penultimate syllable of the reduplicated Aorist in चड्ड, the word consisting of more than two syllables.

Thus मा हि चीकर्ताम् or चीकैत्ताम् ॥ The augment अट् is elided by the addition of मा, VI. 4. 74; हि prevents the verb from becoming anudatta VIII. I. 34 then comes the चित् accent of चड् ॥ The augmented form with अट् has acute always on the first syllable VI. 4. 71. When the word is of less than three syllables, the rule does not apply, as, माहि हृष्टैत् ॥

मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्थियाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः, पूर्वम्, आत्म्, संज्ञायाम्, स्थियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतोः पूर्व आकार उशतो भवति तस्येन्मत्यत्तं स्त्रीलिङ्गं संज्ञा भवति ।

219. The आ before the affix मत् has the acute accent, when the word is a name in the Feminine Gender.

Thus अदुम्बरौवती, पुष्करौवती, शर्मावती (IV. 2. 85). The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 120. वीर्यावती ॥ Why do we say 'the आ'? Observe इक्षुमती, गृष्मवती ॥ The words इक्षु Un. III. 157 and गृष्म (V. 2. 108) are end-acute, so accent is on मत् by VI. I. 176. Why do we say when a name? Observe खेद्वावती ॥ खेद्वा is formed by कृत् and has acute on the first (Un. I. 151). Why do we say in-

the Feminine Gender? Observe शारावान् ॥ Why do we say when followed by नन्? Observe गवादिनी ॥

अन्तो इवत्याः ॥ २२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, अवत्याः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाभिस्थेत् । अवतीशब्दान्तस्य संज्ञायामन्तं उदात्तो भवति ।

220. The Names ending in अवती have the acute accent on the last syllable.

Thus अजितवतीः, खिरवतीः, ईसवतीः, कारण्डवतीः ॥ These words being formed by छी्ष would have been unaccented on the final (III. 1. 4). Why do we use अवती and not वती? Then the rule would apply to यजवती also, for this word is really राजन्वती ending in अन्वती, the subsequent elision of न् is held to be non-valid for the purposes of the application of this rule (VIII. 2. 2). But the change of न् into व् (मन्-वत्) is considered asiddha for the purposes of this rule.

ईवत्याः ॥ २२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईवत्याः, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईवतीशब्दान्तस्यान्तं उदात्तो भवति ख्लियां संज्ञायां विषये ।

221. The Names ending in ईवती have the acute on the last syllable.

Thus अहीवतीः, कृपीवतीः, मुनीवतीः ॥
चौ ॥ २२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चारित्यञ्चतिरुपतकरो गृथेऽन् । तस्मिन्प्रतः पूर्वस्थान्तं उदात्तो भवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ चारतादितदाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

222. In compound words ending in अञ्च्, the final vowel of the preceding word has the acute accent in the weak cases in which only च् of अञ्च् remains.

Thus दधीचः पम्य; दधीचा, दधीचे: मधूचः पद्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ This is an exception to VI. 1. 165, 170 and VI. 2. 52.

Vārt:—This rule does not apply before a Taddhita affix. As शाधीचः: शाधूचः ॥ Here the accent is regulated by the affix (III. 1. 3).

समासस्य ॥ २२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासस्य, (उदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समासस्कन्तं उदात्तो भवति ।

223. A compound word has the acute on the last syllable.

Thus राजपुरुषः ब्राह्मणकम्बलः, कन्याखन्नः, फटहश्चैः, नरीघोर्षः, राजहर्षत्, ब्राह्मणसमित् ॥ The consonants being held to be non-existent for the purposes of accent, the udātta will fall on the vowel though it may not be final, the final being a consonant. The exceptions to this rule will be mentioned in the next chapter.

ओ३म् ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।



BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER. SECOND.

बहुवीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवीहौ, प्रकृत्या, पूर्वपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वपदमन्त्र शुरु उशाचे स्वरिते वा वर्तते । बहुवीहौ समासे पूर्वपदस्य यः स्वरः स प्रकृत्या भवति, स्वभावेनावातिष्ठते, न विकारमनुशासनमापयते ॥

I. In a Bahuvrīhi, the first member preserves its own original accent.

The word पूर्वपद् means here the accent—whether udātta or swarita—which is in the first member: प्रकृत्या means, retains its own nature, does not become modified into an anudātta accent. By the rule VI. 1. 223, the final of a compound gets the accent, so that all the preceding members lose their accent and become anudātta, as in one word all syllables are unaccented except one. VI. 1. 158. Thus the first member of a Bahuvrīhi would have lost its accent and become anudātta; with the present sūtra commences the exceptions to the rule that the final of a compound is always udātta. Thus कार्णोन्नरासङ्गः ॥ The word कार्णो is derived by the Taddhita affix अङ् (IV. 3. 154) from कृष्ण ‘a kind of antelope ;’ and has the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. on the first syllable: which the word preserves in the compound also. So also शूपवलङ्गः ; the word शूप is derived from शुप् by the Uṇādi affix त् (Uṇ III. 27), before which the vowel becomes lengthened (Uṇ III. 25) and the affix is treated as नित् (Un III. 26), and hence the word is acutely accented on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). So also ब्रह्मचारीपरिस्कन्दः ; the word ब्रह्मचारिः has a Kṛit-formed word as its second part, and gets the acute on the final (VI. 2. 139). So also स्नातकपुञ्चः, the word स्नातक is derived by कम् (V. 4. 29) affix and has नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) i. e. udātta on the first syllable. So also अध्यापकपुञ्चः, the word अध्यापक is accented on the middle as it is formed by a लित् affix (III. 1. 133, VI. 1. 193). श्रीविद्यपुञ्चः, the श्रीविद्य being enounced with an indicatory इ in Sūtra V. 2. 84 is acutely accented on the first. मनुष्यनाथः, the word मनुष्य being formed by अत् (IV. 1. 161) a तित् affix is svarita (VI. 1. 185),

The words *udātta* and *svarita* are understood in this aphorism. Therefore if *all* the syllables of the *pūrvapada* are *anudātta*, the present rule has no scope there, and such a compound will get *udātta* on the final by the universal rule enunciated in VI. I. 223. Thus समभागः, here सम being *all* *anudātta*, the accent falls on गः ॥

तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-
पुरुषे, तुल्यार्थ, तृतीया, सप्तमी, उपमान, अव्यय, द्वितीया, कृत्याः ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे तुल्यार्थं तृतीयात्तं सप्तम्यम्भुपमासवाच्च अव्ययं द्वितीयात्तं कृत्यात्तं च अस्तुर्वृपं तत्प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अव्यये न भूकुनिपातानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

2. In a *Tatpurusha*, the first member preserves its original accent, when it is a word (1) meaning "a resemblance", or (2) an Instrumental, or (3) a Locative or (4) a word with which the second member is compared, (5) or an Indeclinable, or (6) an Accusative, or (7) a Future Passive Participle.

Thus (1) तुल्यश्वेतः, तुल्यलोहित, तुल्यमहान्, सहस्रच्छेतः, सहस्रलोहितः, सहस्रमहान् ॥ These are *Karmadhāraya* compounds formed under II. I. 68 : and तुल्य being formed by तुल् is acutely accented on the first (VI. I. 216). The word सहस्र is formed by क्लिन् (III. 2. 60 Vārt), and has acute on the final (VI. I. 197 and VI. 2. 139). So also सहस्रश्वेतः: सहस्रलोहितः, सहस्रमहान् ॥ The word सहस्र is formed by कम् added to दश्, and by VI. I. 197 the accent falls on द (VI. 2. 139). (2) When the first member is in the Instrumental case, as :—शंकुलया खण्डः = शंकुलै-खण्डः; so also क्रिरिकाणः (II. I. 30) शंकुला is derived from शंकु+ला ॥ To the root ला is added the affix क with the force of घञ्, and thus the noun ला is *udātta*; or the whole word शंकुला is a word formed by क affix and hence VI. I. 165 applies and is final-acute. क्रिरिः is formed by the *Unādi* affix इ to कृ (*Un*. IV. 143), and it being treated as a किन् (*Un*. IV. 142) has *udātta* on the final.

(3) When the first member is a word in the Locative case, as :—अभेषु शौष्ठौ-पाण्डः = अभेषौपाण्डः; so also पानशौष्ठौपाण्डः ॥ The word अभेषु is formed by the affix ए added to भश् (*Un*. III. 65), and is final acute (III. I. 3). The word पान is formed by ल्यूट affix added to पा, and is acute on the first (VI. I. 193) owing to the लित् accent. (4) When the first member is a word with which the second member is compared, as :—शास्त्रीज्ञवान्, कुमुदश्वेती, हंसग्राहा, व्यग्रोद्धिपरिमण्डला, दूर्व-कौण्डलश्वाया, शरक्तार्जुगौष्ठी । These compounds are formed by II. I. 55. शास्त्री is formed by श्वास् and is final-acute; कुमुदः is formed by क affix (कौ मोरते=कुमुद) see III. 2. 5. Vārt : and is acutely accented on the first, or by Phit sūtra II. 3 it has acute on the first. हंस is formed by the *Unādi* affix ए added to हंस-

(Uṇ III. 62), and is finally accented (III. 1. 3). न्यपोहति = न्यपोधः formed by अ॒ (III. 1. 134), and ह is irregularly changed into ष as Pānini himself uses this form (VII. 3. 5): and it is accented in the middle. The words इर्वाकाण्ड, शकाण्ड are Genitive Tatpurusha, and their second member has accent on the first syllable (VI. 2. 135). (5) When the first member is an Indeclinable, as, अैत्राद्यणः, अैतृषलः, कुैत्राद्यणः, कुैतृषलः ॥ निर्बैकौशास्विः, निर्बैराणसिः, अैतिखद्वः, अैतिशालः ॥ All these Indeclinable compounds have udātta on the first. they are formed by II. 2. 5 &c.

Vart :—In cases of Indeclinable compounds. the rule applies only to those which are formed by the negative Particle अ, by कु, and by Particles (nipāta). Though नभ् is one of the Nipātas, its separate mention indicates that नभ्-accent debars even the subsequent कृत्-accent as अकारणः ॥ Therefore, it does not apply here स्नात्वाकालकः which has acute on the final and belongs to Mayuravyāsakādi class.

(6) When the first member as in the accusative case, as :—मुहूर्त्तसुखम्, मुहूर्त्तरमणीयम्, सर्वरात्रैकल्याणी, सर्वरात्रैशोभना ॥ They are formed by II. 1. 29. मुहूर्त belongs to पृष्ठाद्वावि class and is acutely accented on the last. सर्वरात्रै is formed by the samāsanta affix अ॒ and is finally accented.

(7) When the first member is a Kritya-formed word, as, भोज्यलवणम्, भोज्योर्णणम्, पानीयशीतम्, हर्णीयचूर्णम् (II. 1. 68). भोज्य is formed by ज्यत् and has svarita on the final: पानीय and हरणाय are formed by अनीय् and are accented on the penultimate (VI. 1. 185 and 217) i. e. on र्ण ॥

वर्णेवर्णेष्वनेते ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णः, वर्णेषु, अनेते ॥

धृतिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदं, तत्पुरुषहति च वर्तते । वर्णं वर्णवाचं पूर्वपदं वर्णवाचिष्वेवोत्तरपदेषु एतशब्दवर्णं-सेषु परतस्तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

3. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when a word denoting color is compounded with another color denoting word, but not when it is the word एत ॥

Thus कृष्णसारङ्गी, लोहितसारङ्गी, कृष्णैकलमाषः, लोहितकलमाषः ॥ कृष्ण is formed by नक affix (Uṇ. III. 4) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). लोहित is formed by the affix तन् added to रङ् (Uṇ. III. 94) and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 197).

Why do we say ‘color-denoting word’? Observe परमकृष्णः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say ‘with another color denoting word’? Observe कृष्णतिलौः (VI. 1. 223). Why do we say ‘but not when it is एत’? Observe कृष्णैः, लोहितैः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 69.

गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाध, लवणयोः, प्रमाणे ॥
धृतिः ॥ प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे गाध लवण इत्येत्यैरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपैः प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

4. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its original accent, when the second term is गाध or लंबण, and the compound expresses a 'measure or mass'.

Thus सम्बगाधयुदकम्, अतिरैगाधयुदकम् 'water as low or fordable as a Samba or an Aritra i. e. of the depth of an oar or a pestle'. मोलवरम्, दृश्यलवरम् 'so much salt as may be given to a cow or a horse'. These are Genitive Tatpurusha compounds. शम् is formed by adding वन् to शम् (Uṇ. IV. 94), and has acute on the first (VI. I. 197). अतिश् is formed by the affix इष् added to शम् (III. 2. 184), and has acute on the middle (III. I. 3); जो is formed by झो (Uṇ. II. 68) and has acute on the final झो; अश् is formed by क्षवन् affix added to अश् (Uṇ. I. 151), and has acute on the first (VI. I. 197). The word प्रमाण here denotes 'quantity', 'measure', 'mass', 'limit', and not merely the length. The power of denoting measure by these words is here indicated by and is dependent upon accent.

When not denoting प्रमाण we have परमगाधैम् and परमलवरैम् ॥

दायाद्यं दायादे ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दायाद्यम्, दायादे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्युरुषे समासे दायादशब्दउत्तरपेत् दायाद्यवाचि पूर्वपवं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

5. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word दायाद् as its second member, the first member denoting inheritance preserves its original accent.

Thus विद्यादायादः, धैनदायादः ॥ The word विद्या is formed by the affix क्ष्यप् (III. 3. 99) which is udātta (III. 3. 96). The word धैन is derived by adding क्षु to धम् (Uṇ. II. 81). Though the Uṇādi Sūtra II. 81 ordains क्षु after the root धा preceded by नि, yet by बहुत् (III. 3. 1) rule it comes after धा also when it is not preceded by नि and धैन has acute on the first (III. I. 3).

In the forms विद्यादायादः &c, what Genitive case has been taken? If it is the Genitive case which the word दायाद् requires by Rule II. 3. 39, then by the Vārtika प्रतिपश्विधाना च वष्टी न समस्यते (II. 2. 10 Vart), there can be no compounding. The Genitive case there is the ordinary Genitive case of II. 3. 50. i. e. a शोषक Genitive case, and not a प्रतिपद् Genitive. If it is a शोषक Genitive case, then why the other Geintive case is taught in II. 3. 39 with regard to दायाद् &c. That sūtra only indicates the existence of the Locative case in the alternative, and does not pervert the Genitive. In fact, had merely Locative been ordained in that sūtra, this particular case would have prevented the Genitive on the maxim that a particular rule debars the general. But the employment of both terms Genitive and Locative in that sūtra indicates the alternative nature of the rule and shows that the Genitive case so taught is not a प्रतिपद् Genitive, but a general Genitive. In short the Genitive taught in II.

3. 39, is not an apūrvā-vidhi, the words naturally would have taken Genitive; the taking of the Locative is the only new thing taught there.

Why do we say 'when meaning inheritance'? Observe परमशास्त्रादृष्टिः (VI. 1. 223) taking the final acute of a compound.

प्रतिबन्धिविरक्तच्छ्रयोः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिबन्धिविरक्तच्छ्रयोः ॥ शृणुतः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे विरक्तच्छ्रयोः प्रसिद्धिवाचि पूर्वं पदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

6.' In a Tatpurusha compound, having the words विरक्त or कृच्छ्र as its second member, the first member, when it denotes that which experiences an obstacle, preserves its original accent.

Thus गैमनश्चिरम्, गैमनकृच्छ्रम्, व्याहरणश्चिरम् or व्याहरणकृच्छ्रम् ॥ The words गैमन and व्याहरण are formed by स्थुद् affix, and have लित् accent (VI. 1. 193). This compound belongs either to the class of Mayūra-vyaahsakādi (II. 1. 72), or of an attribute and the thing qualified. When going to a place is *delayed* owing to some defective arrangement or cause, or becomes *difficult*, there is produced an *obstacle* or hinderance, and is called गैमनश्चिर or गैमनकृच्छ्र ॥ Why do we say 'which experiences a hinderance'? Observe मुचकृच्छ्रम् ॥

पदे अपदेशो ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदे, अपदेशो ॥

शृणुतः ॥ अपदेशो व्याजस्तशाच्चिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे परशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वं पदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

7. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word पद denoting 'a pretext'.

The word अपदेश means 'a pretext', 'a contrivance'. Thus मूत्रपदेन प्रस्थितः, उर्ध्वापदेन प्रस्थितः ॥ Gone on pretext of voiding urine or excreta.

The word मूत्र is derived by adding the affix द्वृ to the root मूल्, the ऊ being substituted for उच्च of मूल्, (Uṇ. IV. 163), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197) or it may be a word formed by घञ् to the root मूलयति ॥ The word उर्ध्वापद is also formed by घञ् and by VI. 2. 144 has acute on the final. The compounding takes place by II. 1. 72 or it is an attributive compound.

Why do we say "when meaning a pretext?" Observe विष्णोः पदम् = विष्णुपदम् ॥

निवाते वातश्चाणे ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निवाते, वात-श्चाणे ॥

शृणुतः ॥ निवातशब्दउत्तरपदे वातश्चाणशाच्चिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वं पदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

8. In a Tatpurusha compound, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word निवात in the sense of 'a protection from wind'.

Thus कुञ्जेत्रं निवातं = कुञ्जीनिवातम् 'a hut as the only shelter from the wind'. So also शौमीनिवातम्, कुञ्जनिवातम् or कुञ्जयनिवातम् ॥ The word निवात is an Avyayi-

bhāva compound = शास्त्र अभावः (II. 1. 6): or a **Bahuvrihi** = निरुद्धो वातोऽस्मिन् ॥ The words कुटीनिवातम् &c, are examples of compounds of two words in apposition. कुटी and शामी are formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 41) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). Some say that कुच्छ is derived from कु by adding च्छ with the augment उक् and treating it as कित्, it has the acute on the first; others hold that it is derived by the affix उच्छू to कु and the affix has the accent.

Why do we say when meaning 'a shelter from wind'? Observe राजनिवाते वसति, सुखं मातृनिवाते = 'he lives under the shelter of the king'; 'pleasant is the shelter or the protection of the mother'. Here निवात = पार्ष्वः or vicinity.

शारदे अनार्तवे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शारदे, अनार्तवे ॥

शृच्छः ॥ ज्ञतौ भवमार्तवम् । अनार्तववाचिनि शारदशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

9. In a Tatpurusha compound the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word शारद, having any other sense than that of 'autumnal'.

The word आर्तव means appertaining to season (ऋतु) i. e. when the word शारद does not refer to the season of शरत् or autumn. Thus रेजुशारदशुक्रम् 'fresh drawn water'. So also रेत्तु शारदः सन्ततः 'the saktu flour fresh from the mill'. The word शारद means here 'fresh' 'new': and it forms an invariable compound. The word रेत्तु is formed by उ affix added to मृज् (Un. I. 15), the स being elided. The affix उ is treated as नित् (Un. I. 9) and the accent falls on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). The word रेत्तु is formed by the augment उ and shortening of the vowel of the root रु 'to tear' (रुणाति), and the affix अरिक् (Un. I. 131) and has accent on the final (III. 1. 3)*.

Why do we say 'when not meaning autumnal'? Observe परमशारदैम्, उत्तमशारदैम् 'the best autumnal grass &c'. (VI. 1. 223).

अधर्वर्युकषाययोज्ञातौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अधर्वर्यु, कषाययोः, जातौ ॥
शृतिः ॥ अधर्वर्युकषाय इत्येतयोज्ञातिवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

10. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting a genus, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is the word अधर्वर्यु or कषाय ॥

Thus प्रौच्छावर्युः, कडावर्युः, कालापाठ्वर्युः ॥ These are Appositional compounds denoting 'genus or kind', with a fixed meaning. प्राच्छ is formed by अत्, and has accent on the first (VI. 1. 213). कड is derived by अच् affix (III. 1. 34), and to it is added the Taddhita affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104), in the sense of कडेन प्रोक्तं (IV. 3. 101), and the affix is then elided by IV. 3. 107. The word कालाप comes from कलापिन् + अण् (IV. 3. 108) in the sense of कलापिना प्रोक्तं (IV. 3.

101), and it would have preserved its form without change before this affix (VI. 4. 164) but for a *vārtika* which declares that the इन् of कलापिन् will be elided (See VI. 1. 144 *vart*). Thus कालैप gets accent on the final (III. 1. 3). So also सर्पिर्मण्डुकषायम्, उमापुष्वैकषायम्, दौवारिकैकषायम् ॥ These are Genitive compounds. The words सर्पिर्मण्डु and उमापुष्वै are Genitive compounds and have accent on the final (VI. 1. 223). The word दौवारिकै is formed by उक् affix added to शार and has acute on the final (VI. 1. 165). Why do we say when meaning a 'genus'? Observe, परमाध्वृतः, परमकषायः (VI. 1. 223).

सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदृशं, प्रतिरूपयोः, सादृश्ये ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ सदृश प्रतिरूप इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः सादृश्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

11. In a Tatpurusha compound expressing resemblance with some one or something, the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is **सदृश** or **प्रतिरूप** ॥

Thus पितृसदृशः, मातृसदृशः ॥ The words पितृ and मातृ are formed by *Uṇādi* affix तृष्ण् (Un. II. 95) and are finally accented. By II. 1. 31, सदृश forms Instrumental Tatpurusha. That case, however, is governed by VI. 2. 2, which provides for Instrumental compounds. The examples here given are of Genitive Tatpurusha: and it applies to cases where the case-ending is not elided. As शास्त्र्याः सदृशो, वृश्ट्याः सदृशः ॥ Here शास्त्री and वृश्टी are finally acute, and the case-affix gets the accent when semivowel is substituted (VI. 1. 174). So also पितृप्रतिरूपः, मातृप्रतिरूपः ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning resemblance'? Observe परमसदृशः, उत्तमसदृशः (VI. 1. 223): here the sense of the compound is that of 'honor' and not 'resemblance'.

द्विगौ प्रमाणे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, प्रमाणे ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगादुत्तरपदे प्रमाणवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

12. In a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'measure or quantity', the first member preserves its original accent, when the second member is a Dvigu.

Thus ग्रीच्यसप्तसमः and गान्धारिसप्तसमः ॥ The word सप्तसमः = सप्तसमाः प्रमाणमस्य, the affix मात्रच् denoting 'measure' (V. 2. 37) is elided (See V. 2. 37 *Vart*) प्राच्यशास्त्रै सप्तसमश्च = ग्रीच्यसप्तसमः "an Eastern seven-years old". So also गान्धारिसप्तसमः or षट्समः ॥ प्राच्य has acute on the first; while गान्धारि is either accented on the first or on the middle; as it belongs to the Kardamādi class (Phit III. 10). Why do we say 'before a Dvigu'? Observe ब्रीहिप्रस्थः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting measure?' Observe परमसप्तसमः ॥

गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गन्तव्य, पण्यम्, वाणिजे ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वाणिजशब्दउत्तरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे गन्तव्यवाचि पण्यवाचि च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

13. Before the word वाणिज 'a trader', the first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when it is a word specifying the place whither one has to go, or the ware in which one deals.

Thus मद्रवाणिजः, काशीरवाणिजः, गान्धारिवाणिजः = मद्राविषु गत्वा व्यवहरन्ति 'the Madra-merchants i. e. who trade by going to Madra &c' All these are Locative compounds. मद्र is derived by एक affix (Un II. 13) and is acutely accented on the last (VI. 1. 165). काशीर belongs to Krishodarādi class (VI. 3. 109), and has acute either on the first or the second syllable. The word गान्धारि belongs to the Kardamādi class, and is consequently acute on the first or the second (Phit III. 10) In the sense of पण्य we have: गोवाणिजः 'a dealer in cows', अश्ववाणिजः &c. गौ is finally accented (Un II. 67) : and अश्व has acute on the first (Un I. 151) the affix being कून् ॥

Why do we say 'the place whither one goes, or the goods in which one deals?' Observe परमवाणिजः, उचमवाणिजः ॥

मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम, छाये, नपुंसके ॥

शृणुः ॥ मात्रा उपज्ञा उपक्रम छाया एतेषूत्तरपदेषु नपुंसकवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

14. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent before the words मात्रा, उपज्ञा, उपक्रम and छाया when these words appear as neuter.

Thus भिक्षामात्रं न इशति याऽधितः, समुद्रमात्रं न सरोडस्ति किञ्चन ॥ The word मात्रा is here synonymous with तुल्य, the phrase being = भिक्षायास्तुल्यप्रमाण, and is a Genitive compound. The word भिक्षा is derived from भिक्षा, by the feminine affix अ (III. 3. 103), and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word समुद्र has also acute on the final as it is a word denoting 'a sea', (Phit sūtra I. 2). So also with उपज्ञा, as पाणिनोपज्ञमकालकं व्याकरणम्; व्याङुषपञ्चं दुष्करणम् आपिशल्युपज्ञ युखलाघव (see II. 4. 21). All these are Genitive compounds. The word पाणिन is derived by अण affix from पणिन् (पणिनोऽपत्यम् = पाणिन्), and has acute on the final, (III. 1. 3). The word व्याङ्गि being formed by इञ्ज affix has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), so also with आपिशलि ॥ So also with उपक्रम, as आङ्गोपक्रमं प्रासादः, दश्मैयोपक्रमम्, द्वकुमारैपक्रमम्; नन्दा पक्रमाणि मानानि ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. The word आङ्ग्यं (तत्रैन्थैनं ध्यायन्ति) is derived from आ + ध्य + क affix added with the force of घट्, the ध being changed to ट the word belonging to पृष्ठोदारादि class (VI. 3. 109), and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144. The word दर्शनीय is formed by धर्मीय् and has acute on the penultimate नी owing to the indicatory र् (VI. 1. 217). The word द्वकुमार has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172. The word नन्द is formed by अण् (III. 1. 134). The Tatpurusha compounds ending in उपज्ञा and उपक्रम are neuter by II. 4. 21. So also with छाया, as द्वपुष्टाया,

तुष्टावम् || The word तुष्टि is derived from तुष्ट् by उ affix (Un I. 13), and it being treated as नित् (Un I. 9) the acute falls on तुष्ट् the first syllable (VI. I. 197). The word धनुष् has also acute on the first by Phit sūtra II. 3. The compound is a Genitive Tatpurusha—तुष्टूणं छायां; and it is Neuter by II. 4. 22. When the compound is not a Neuter we have कुष्टावाया (II. 4. 25).

सुखप्रिययोर्हिते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख, प्रिययोः, हिते ॥
हृतिः ॥ सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुचरपश्योर्हितवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

15. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, when the second term is सुख् or प्रिय, and the sense is ‘to feel delight, or is good’.

Thus गैमनसुखम् ‘the pleasure of going’. So also वैचनसुखम्, व्याहरणसुखम्, गैमनप्रियम्, वैचनप्रियम्, व्याहरणप्रियम् ॥ These are appositional compounds. All the above words are formed by ल्युट् affix and have acute on the syllable preceding the affix (VI. I. 193). The words sukha and priya have the sense of हित or ‘well good’ ‘beneficial’, i. e. when the thing denoted by the first term is the cause of pleasure or delight. When this is not the sense we have परमसुखम्, परमप्रियम् ॥

प्रीतौ च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रीतौ, च ॥

हृतिः ॥ प्रीतौ गम्यमानायां सुख प्रिय इत्येतयोरुचरपश्योस्तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

16. The first member of a Tatpurusha preserves its accent, the second term being सुख or प्रिय, in the sense of “agreeable to one, or desired”.

Thus ब्राह्मणसुखं पादसं “the sweetmilk desired by or agreeable to the Brahmanas”, छायाप्रियोऽनध्यायः ॥ कन्धाप्रियो मृदङ्गः ॥ &c. The words ब्राह्मण and छाया have acute on the final being formed by the affixes अण् and ण (V. 4. 62) respectively (III. I. 3) and कन्धा has svarita on the final. When not meaning agreeable to or desired, we have राजसुखम्, राजप्रियम् ॥

स्वस्वामिनि ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, स्वामिति ॥

हृतिः ॥ स्वामिशब्दउचरपदे तत्पुरुषे समासे स्ववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

17. In a Tatpurusha compound, having the word स्वामिन् as its second member, the first term, when it denotes the thing possessed, retains its original accent.

Thus गौस्वामी, धैश्वस्वामी, धैनस्वामी ॥ The accents of गौ, धैश्व and धैन have already been mentioned before in VI. 2. 14.. When the first member is not a word denoting possession, we have परमस्वामी ॥

पत्न्याधिभर्ये ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्नौ, ऐश्वर्ये ॥

हृतिः ॥ पतिशब्दउचरपदे ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

18. In a Tatpurusha ending in पति when it means 'master' or 'lord', the first member preserves its original accent.

Thus गृहैपतिः, सैनापतिः, नैरपतिः, धान्यपतिः ॥ The word गृह is formed by क (III. 1. 144) and has acute on the final (III. 1. 3). The word सेना is a Bahuvrihi (सह इनेन वर्तते = सेना), and by VI. 2. 1 the first member retains its accent. The word नर is derived from नृ 'to lead' by the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) and has acute on the first (III. 1. 4), the word धान्य has svarita on the final (See Phit II. 23?) Why do we say when meaning 'lord'? Observe ब्राह्मणो वृषलीपतिः "a Brahmana, husband of a Sūdrā".

न भू वाक्चिदिधिषु ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, वाक्, चित्, दिधिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपेद ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भू वाक् चित् दिधिषु इत्येतानि पूर्वपशनि प्रकृतिस्वराणि न भवन्ति ॥

19. The words भू, वाक्, चित् and दिधिषु, however, do not preserve their original accent in a Tatpurusha when coming before the word पति denoting 'lord'.

This debars the accent taught by the last aphorism. Thus भूपतिः, वाक्पतिः, चित्पतिः, दिधिषुपतिः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds and are finally accented by VI. 1. 223.

वा भुवनम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भुवनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दउत्तरपेद ऐश्वर्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे भुवनशब्दः पूर्वपरं वा प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

20. The word भुवन may optionally keep its accent in a Tatpurusha, before पति denoting 'lord'.

Thus भुवनपतिः or भुवनपातिः ॥ The word भुवन is formed by ब्युन् (Un. II. 80), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). Though Sūtra II. 80 (Unadi) ordains ब्युन् after भू in the Vedas only, yet on the theory of बहुल (III. 1. 3), it comes in the secular literature also, as भुवभूतरात्मत्यः ॥

आशङ्काभावनेदीयस्तु संभावने ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशङ्क, आ बाध, नेदीयस्तु, संभावने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपरं तत्पुरुषहति वर्तते । आशङ्क आबाध नेदीयस्तु इत्येतेषु उत्तरपेद संभावनवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपरं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

21. Before आशङ्क, आबाध and नेदीयस्तु, the first member in a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when it treats about a supposition.

The word संभावनम् = अस्तित्वाध्यवसायः "the hesitation about the existence of a thing". Thus गैमनाशङ्क वर्तते 'one fears the journey'; so also वैष्णवाशङ्क, व्याहृणाशङ्क, &c. Similarly गैमनाबाधम् वर्तते = गमनं बाधते इति संभावयते "it has stepped in as

an obstacle to journey". So also वैचनाबाधम्, व्याहरणाबाधम् ॥ Similarly गौमननेशीयो वर्तते, वैचननेशीयः व्याहरणनेशीयः = गमनमिति निकटतरमिति संभाव्यते "the journey stands directly before".

Why do we say when a supposition is meant? Observe परमनेशीयः ॥ All the above words are formed by ल्युद् affix and have लित् accent. (VI. I. 193).

पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, भूतपूर्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दउत्तरपदे भूतपूर्ववाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

22. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent when the word पूर्वे is the second member, and the sense is "this had been lately—".

Thus आङ्ग्यो भूतपूर्वः = आङ्ग्यपूर्वः "formely had been rich". The compound must be analysed in the above way. The compounding takes place by II. I. 57 or it belongs to Mayura-vyañsakādi class. So also वर्षनीयपूर्वः, सुकुमारपूर्वः ॥

Why do we say when meaning 'had been lately'. Observe परमपूर्वः, उत्तमपूर्वः, which should be analysed as परमश्चासौ पूर्वश्चति ॥ If it is analysed as परमो भूतपूर्वः then it becomes an example under the rule and not a counter-example. In order therefore, to make this rule applicable we must know the sense of the compound.

सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, सदेशेषु, सामीप्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सविध सनीड समर्याद सवेश इत्येतेषुत्तरपदेषु सामीप्यवाचिनि तत्पुरुषे समासे पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

23. The first member of a Tatpurusha compound preserves its original accent, when the second 'member' is सविध, सनीड, समर्याद, सवेश, and सदेश in the sense of "what can be found in the vicinity thereof".

Thus महासविधम्, गान्धारिसविधिम्, काश्मीरसविधम् ॥ So also महासनीडम्, महासमर्यादम्, महासवेशम् and महासदेशम्. So also with गान्धारे and काश्मीर ॥ The accents of these words have been taught before in Sūtra VI. 2. 12, 13. The words सविध &c, are derived from सह विधया &c, but they all mean 'in the vicinity': महासविधं = महाणां सामिप्यम् ॥ Why do we say when meaning in the vicinity thereof? Observe सह मर्यादया वर्तते = समर्यादैः क्षेत्रम् 'a field having boundary'. देवदत्तस्य समर्यादं = देवदत्तसमर्यादम् "the bounded field of D". Why do we say सविध &c? Observe देवदत्तसमर्या ॥

विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विस्पष्ट, आदीनि-गुणवचनेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विस्पष्टादीनि पूर्वपरानि गुणवचनेषुत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वराणि भवन्ति ॥

24. The words विस्पष्ट &c preserve their accent when followed by an Adjective word in a compound;

Thus विस्पष्ट कटुकम्, विचित्रकटुकम्, व्यंक्तकटुकम्, विस्पष्टलवणम्, व्यंक्तलवणम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. १. 4, and it should be analysed thus विस्पष्टं कटुकम् &c.

The words विस्पष्ट &c, are indeed here adjectives, and in conjunction with कटु &c, they denote an object possessing those qualities; and therefore not being in apposition, the compound is not a Karmadhāraya.

The word विस्पष्ट has acute on the first by VI. 2. 49. The word विचित्र is also acute on the first as it gets the accent of the Indeclinable. Some read the word as विचित्रः, which being a Bahuvrīhi has also first acute. The word व्यंक्त has svarita on the first by VIII. 2. 4. The remaining words of this class are संपत्ति, पेदु or कटु, पण्डिते, कुशले, चपल and निषुणे. Of these, the word संपत्ति has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144; पेदु is formed by उ (Uṇ I. 18), which being considered as नित् (Uṇ I. 9), it has acute on the first. पण्डिते is formed by न्त् to the root पद्, and is finally acute (VI. 2. 144). कुशल has accent on the final being formed by a कृत affix (कुशान् लाति = कुशलः, ला आदाने, or Uṇ I. 106), चपल being formed by a चित् affix (Uṇ I. 111), has acute on the final (VI. 1. 163), for चित् is understood in the Uṇadi sūtra Uṇ. I. 111 from sūtra Uṇ. I. 106. The word निषुण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, being formed by क् affix added to पुण् &c.

Why do we say 'of विस्पष्ट &c' Observe परमलवणम् उत्तमलवणम्, both having acute on the final. Why do we say "when followed by a word expressing a quality"? Observe विस्पष्टब्राह्मणः ॥

अज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्र, ज्य, अवम, कन्, पापवत्सु, भावे, कर्मधारये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्र ज्य अवम कन् इत्येतेषु पापशब्दवति षोन्नरपदे कर्मधारये समासे भाववाचि पूर्वपदं प्रहसिस्वरं भवति ॥

25. In a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member consisting of a Verbal noun (भाव), preserves its original accent before adjective forms built from श्र (V. 3. 60), ज्य (V. 3. 61) अवम and कन् (V. 3. 64), and before a form built from the word पाप ॥

Thus गैमनश्चेष्टम्, or गैमनभ्रेष्टम्, वैचनउयेष्टम् or वचनउयायः; गैमनावमम्, वैचनावमम्, गैमनकन्नीयः ॥ So also गैमनपाणिष्टम्, गैमनपाणीयः ॥ All the first members are व्युट् formed words and have लित् accent i. e. on the first syllable. (VI. 1. 193). The words श्र, ज्य and कन् are substitutes which certain adjectives take in the comparative and superlative degree, and the employment of these forms in the sūtra indicates that the comparative and superlative words having these ele-

ments should be taken as second members, and so also of पाप, the comparative and superlative are taken, for this is the meaning here of the word पापवत् ॥

Why do we say "अ &c"? Observe गमनशोभनभैः ॥ Why do we say 'a verbal Noun'? Observe गमनभेदः, where the word गमन is = गम्यते इतेन 'a carriage'. Why do we say 'a Karmadhāraya compound'? Observe गमनं भेदः = गमनभेदः ॥

कुमारस्त्र ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमारः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमारशब्दः पूर्वपरं कर्मधारये समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

26. The word कुमार preserves its original accent when standing as a first member in a Karmadhāraya compound.

Thus कुमारकुलदा, कुमारैश्वरणा, कुमारतापसी ॥ The word कुमार has acute on the final as it is derived from the root कुमार क्रीडायाम् with the affix अच् of पचारि ॥ By II. I. 70, it is ordained that कुमार is compounded with अमण &c. Some commentators hold that the word कुमार must be followed by अमण &c. (II. I. 70) to make this rule applicable. They refer to the maxim लक्षणमाति-पदोन्नत्योः प्रतिपदोन्नत्यैव अहम्, "whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar, or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed." Other Grammarians, however do not make any such limitation, but apply the rule to all Karmadhāraya compounds of कुमार ॥

आदिः प्रत्येनसि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, प्रत्येनसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयाति वर्तते । प्रतिगत एनसा प्रतिगतमेनो वा यस्य सः प्रत्येनाः । तस्मिन्नुन्नपरे कर्म-धारस्यादिशास्तो भवति ॥

27. In a Karmādhārya compoun'd of कुमार followed by प्रत्येनस्, the acute falls on the first syllable of Kumāra.

The word प्रत्येनस् = प्रतिगत एनसा or प्रतिगतमेनो यस्य ॥ Thus कुमारप्रत्येनाः ॥ The word udātta is required to be read into the sūtra to complete the sense: for the construction' of the sūtra requires it, and the anuvritti of the 'first member preserves its accent' would be inappropriate because the word भावि is employed here.

पूर्णेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्णेषु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्णा गणास्तदाधिमुक्तरपरे कर्मधारये समासे कुमारस्यान्यतरस्यामविरुद्धास्तो भवति ॥

28. The first syllable of Kumâra is acute optionally, when the second member is a word denoting 'the name of a horde'.

The word पुण means 'a multitude, a collection &c'. See V. 3. 112 also. Thus कुमारचातकः or कुमारैचातका (VI. 2. 26), or कुमारचातकौः ॥ So also कुमारलोहध्वजाः or कुमारैलोहध्वजाः or कुमारलोहध्वजौः ॥ So also with कुमारवलाहकाः, कुमारैश्चितकौः ॥ Here चातक &c, are horde-names; and the affix उ॒य is added to them by V. 3. 112 : which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 62. In the above examples when the word 'Kumâra' is not accented on the first syllable, it gets accent on the last by VI. 2. 26, when the प्रतिपरोन्त maxim is not applied : when that maxim is applied, the final of the compound takes the accent by the general rule VI. 1. 223.

इगन्तकालकपालभगालशारवेषु द्विगौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इगन्त, काल, कपाल, भगाल, शारवेषु, द्विगौ ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तउत्तरपूर्वे कालवाचिनि कपाल भगाल शारव इत्येतेषु च द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपूर्वं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

29. In a Dvigu compound, the first member preserves its original accent, before a stem ending in a simple vowel, with the exception of अ (इक्), before a word denoting time, as well as before कपाल, भगाल and शारव ॥

Thus पैञ्चारत्निः, इशारत्निः ॥ The above are examples of Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), equal to पंचारत्नयः प्रमाणमस्य, the प्रमाण denoting-affix मात्रस् is always elided in Dvigu (V. 2. 3 Vârt). So also पैञ्चमास्य, इशमास्यः = पञ्च मासान् भूतो भूतो भावी वा. This is also a Taddhitârtha Dvigu (II. 1. 52), formed by the affix यष् (V. 1. 80—82). So also पञ्चवर्षः इशवर्षः the affix ठञ् being elided (V. 1. 88). So also पैञ्चकपालः, इशकपालः, पैञ्चभगालः, इशभगालः, पैञ्चशारवः, इशशारवः ॥ These are also Taddhitârtha Dvigu formed by IV. 2. 16, the affix अण् being elided by IV. 1. 88.

Why do we say "before an इगन्त stem &c"? Observe पञ्चभिरभ्यैःकीतः = पञ्चार्थैः, इशार्थैः ॥ Why do we say "in a Dvigu Compound"? Observe परमार्थैः, परमशारवैः ॥

When these Dvigu compounds, by case-modifications do not end in इक् vowel, but the vowel is replaced by a semi vowel or Guṇa, the rule will still apply. Thus पैञ्चारस्यः or पैञ्चारत्नयः ॥ This is done on the strength of the maxim असञ्च बहिरञ्चमन्तरङ्गः. "That which is bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect or as not existing, when that which is antaranga is to take effect :" because the substitution of semivowel or guṇa is a bahiranga opera-

tion in relation to accent. Or the substitutes may be considered as sthānivat to the short-vowel which they replace.

बहून्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुशब्दः पूर्वपदमिगन्तादिषूत्तरेषु द्विगौ समासे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

30. In a Dvigu compound, the word बहु may optionally preserve its accent when followed by an ik-ending stem, or by a time-word, or by kapâla, bhagâla and śarâva.

This allows option where the last rule required the accent necessarily. Thus बहुरदिः or बहुरात्मिः, बहुमास्यः or बहुमास्यैः, बहुकपालः or बहुकपालैः, बहुभगालः or बहुभगालैः, बहुशारावः or बहुशारावैः ॥ The word बहु has acute on the final being formed by the affix कु (Uṇ I. 29). When the उ is changed to व्, as in the first example, the anudatta अ is changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 4 : when the first member preserves its accent. In the other alternative, the accent falls on the last syllable.

दिष्टिवितस्योश्च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिष्टि, वितस्योः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिष्टि वितस्ति इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदस्योर्द्विगौ समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

31. In a Dvigu compound, the first member may optionally preserve its accent, when followed by the words दिष्टि and वितस्ति as second members.

Thus पैञ्चविटिः or पञ्चविष्टिः, पैञ्चवितस्तिः or पञ्चवितस्तिः ॥ The affix मात्रच् is elided after the प्रभाण denoting words dishṭi and vitasti (V. 2. 37).

सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वन्धेष्वकालात् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व, बन्धेषु, अकालात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं पूर्वपदं सिद्ध शुष्क पक्व बन्ध इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति सा चेत्सप्तमी कालात्र भवति ॥

32. A locative-ending word when it does not denote time, preserves its original accent, when followed by सिद्ध, शुष्क, पक्व and बन्ध in a compound.

Thus सांकाश्यसिद्धः or सांकाश्यसिद्धः, काम्पिल्यसिद्धः or कौम्पिल्यसिद्धः ॥ The words sāmkāśya and kāmpilya have acute on the final, and by Phiṭ Sūtra (III. 16) in the alternative the accent falls on the middle also. So also निधनशुष्कः, ऊक्तशुष्कः ॥ The word निधन is derived by ऋु affix added to नि-धाश् and has acute on the middle; the word ऊक्त is formed from ऊव् root by the affix क्तु, and has acute on the final. So also भ्रातृपक्वः, कुर्मीपक्वः, कलशीपक्वः ॥ The words Kumbhī and Kalasī are formed by डीष् affix and have acute on the final; the word भ्रातृ is formed by ष्ट्रु affix, and has acute on the beginning. So also चक्रबन्धः, चारकबन्धः ॥ The word chakra has acute on the final, and châraka being formed by ष्ट्रु has acute on the first.

Why do we say 'when not denoting time'? Observe पूर्वाह्नसिद्धः, अपराह्नसिद्धः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 41. The accent of the Locative Tatpurusha taught in VI. 2. 1 was debarrd by Krit-accent taught VI. 2. 144. The present sūtra debars this last rule regarding Krit accent, and reordains the Locative Tatpurusha accent when the Krit-words are सिद्ध &c.

परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि, प्रति, उप, अपाः, वर्ज्यमान, अहोरात्रावयवेषु ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ परि प्रति उप अप इत्येते पूर्वपदभूता वर्ज्यमानवाचिनि अहोरात्रावयव वाचिनि रात्र्यवयववाचिनि चोन्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरा भवति ।

33. The particles परि, प्रति, उप and अप preserve their accent before that word, which specifies an exclusion, or a portion of day and night, (in an Avyayibhāva compound also).

Thus पैरित्रिगत्ते वृष्टो देवः "It rained all round (but not in) Trigarta". (See II. 1. 11 and 12). So also पैरिसौवीरम्, पैरिसार्वसनि, पैरिपूर्वात्रम् ॥ So also प्रति-पूर्वाह्नम्, प्रत्यपराह्नम्, उैपपराह्नम्, उैपपूर्वात्रम्, उैपपरात्रम् ॥ उैप-त्रिगत्ते वृष्टो देवः, उैपसौवीरम्, उैपसार्वसनी (II. 1. 11 and 12).

By Phit Sūtras IV. 12, and 13 all Particles (Nipāta) have acute on the first syllable. So also upasargas with the exception of अभि ॥ Therefore परि &c, have acute on the first. In a Tatpurusha and Bahuvrīhi compounds, these words 'pari', 'prati' &c, as first members would have retained their accent by the rules already gone before; the present sūtra, therefore, extends the principle of the preservation of the accent to Avyayibhāva compounds also. The prepositions उप and परि alone denote the limit exclusive or वर्जन, and it is therefore with these two prepositions only that the second member can denote the thing excluded, and not with प्रति and उप ॥ With these prepositions अप and परि, the second term if denoting a member of day or night, are also taken even as *excluded*, therefore no separate illustrations of those are given.

Why do we say 'before a word which is excluded, or is a part of a day and night'? Observe प्रत्यग्नि शूलभाः पत्तन्ति ॥ In प्रत्यवनम् "all round the forest, but not in it", the accent falls on the last by VI. 2. 178, which debars this general rule, as well as all special rules which might affect वन in a compound.

राजन्यवहुवचनद्वन्द्वेन्द्र्यकवृष्णिषु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्य, वहु वचन, द्वन्द्वे, अन्धक, वृष्णिषु, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतस्वरम्)

बृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यवाचिनां वहुवचनात्तानां यो द्वन्द्वे अन्धकवृष्णिषु वर्तते तत्र पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

34. The first member of a Dvandva compound, formed of names denoting the Kshatriya (warrior) clans in

the plural number, retains its original accent when the warrior belongs to the clan of Andhaka or Vrishni.

Thus श्वाफल्कैचैत्रका:, चैत्रकैरोधका, श्वीनिवासुदेवा: || The words Śvāphalka and Chaitraka are formed by अ॒ � affix (IV. 1. 114) and have acute on the last (III. 1. 3). The word श्वीनि has acute on the first syllable, and does not change in denoting Patronymic. Why do we say 'in denoting a Warrior clan'? Observe द्वैप्यहैमायनाः || Here द्वैप्य is derived from द्वीप by the affix अ॒ (IV. 3. 10) = द्वीपे भवाः; हैमायनः = हैमे पत्थं युवा || These names belong to Andhaka and Vrishni clans, but are not the warrior-names. The word राजन् here means those Kshatriyas who belong to the family of appointed kings and warriors (अभिषिक्तवंशाः); these (Dvaipya and Haimayana) do not belong to any such family. Why do we say 'in the Plural number'? Observe संकर्षणवांसुदेवौ || Why do we say 'in a Dvandva compound'? Observe वृष्णीनां कुमाराः = वृष्णिकुमारौ: || Why do we say 'of Andhaka and Vrishni clans'? Observe कुरुपञ्चालाः ||

संख्या ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या ॥

वृत्तिः || इन्द्रद्वासमासे संख्यावाच्च पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

35. The Numeral word, standing as the first member of a Dvandva compound, preserves its accent.

Thus एकादश, द्वादश, त्र्योदश or चत्वार्दश || The word एक is derived from इ॒ � by क॒ � affix (Uṇ III. 43) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). The चत्वार् is the substitute of चत्र (VI. 3. 48) and has acute on the final.

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि । आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्तेवा-सी, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्)

वृत्तिः || आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनां यो इन्द्रस्तत्रपूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

36. When words denoting scholars are named after their teachers and are compounded into a Dvandva, the first member retains its accent.

The word अन्तेवासी means 'a pupil' 'a boarding' not a day scholar'. When the scholar is named by an epithet derived from the name of his teacher, that name is आचार्योपसर्जनः or teacher-derived name. Thus आपिशलै-पाणिनीयाः, पाणि भैश्य-रौढीयाः, रौ ढैयकाशकृत्स्नाः || The son of Apiśala is आपिशलि the name of a Teacher or founder of a school—an āchārya : formed by इ॒ affix (IV. 1. 95). The science taught by him is called आपिशलम्, formed by adding अ॒ affix to आपिशलाः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 11). The scholars who study the Apiśalam are also called आपिशलः: the affix denoting 'to study' is elided by (IV. 2. 59 and 64). Or the pupils of Apiśali will be also called Apiśalāḥ. Thus in both ways Apiśalāḥ is a scholar name derived from the name of a teacher. The word आचार्योपसर्जन qualifies the whole Dvandva compound and

not the first member only. That is, the whole compound in all its parts should denote scholars, whose names are derived from those of their teachers. Therefore not here पाणिनीय-वेदवैत्ती where though the first is a teacher-derived name, the second is not. Why do we say "names derived from the teacher's"? Observe लान्वस्वैद्याकरणः ॥ Why do we say "a Scholar"? Observe आपिशलपाणिनीये शास्त्रे ॥

कार्तकौजपादयश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्तकौजप, आदयः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कार्तकौजपादया ये द्वन्द्वास्तेषु पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

37. Also in the Dvandvas कार्तकौजप &c, the first members retain their accent.

Those words of this list which end in a dual or plural affix have been so exhibited for the sake of distinctness. The following is a list of these words. 1. कार्तं-कोजपा (formed by अ॒ IV. 1. 114 in the sense of Patronymic, from कृत and कुजप these being Rishi names) ॥ 2. सावर्णिमाण्डूकेयौ (सावर्णी is formed by इ॒ Patron. affix and माण्डूकेय by टक् IV. 1. 119). 3. आवन्त्यश्मकाः The word Avanti is end-acute, to which is added the Patron affix न्यान् by IV. 1. 171, which being a Tadrāj is elided in the plural; अवन्तीनां निवासो जनपद = अवन्ति the quadruple significant अ॒ ज्ञ being elided.

4. पैलश्यापर्णेयाः (Paila is derived from Pilā the son of Pilā is Paila, the yuvan descendant of Paila will be formed by adding फित् IV. 1. 156, which is, however, elided by II. 4. 59.) The word Śyāparna belongs to Bidādi class IV. 1. 104, the female descendant will be Śyāparnī, the yuvan descendant of her will be Śyāparneya. It is not necessary that the compound should be plural always. We have पैलश्यापर्णेयौ also.

5. कपिश्यापर्णेयाः (Kapi has acute on the final. The son of Kapi will be formed by यत् IV. 1. 107, which is however elided by II. 4. 64. This compound must, therefore, be always in the plural.

6. शैतिकाक्षपांचालेयाः (Śitikāksha is the name of a Rishi, his son will be Śaitikāksha by अ॒, IV. 1. 114, the yuvan descendant of the latter will be formed by इ॒ which is elided by II. 4. 58. Pāñchāla's female descendant is Pāñchālī, her yuvan descendant is Pāñchāleya. The plural number here is not compulsory. We have ईतिकाक्षपांचालेयौ also.)

7. कटुकवाधूलेयाः or कटुकवार्चलेयाः (The son of Kaṭuka will be formed by इ॒ IV. 1. 59, which is elided in the Plural by II. 4. 66. The son of Varchala is Vārchaleya).

8. शाकलशुनकाः (The son of Śākala is Śākalya, his pupils are Śākalāḥ by अ॒ IV. 2. 111. The son of Sunak will be Saunaka by अ॒ IV. 1. 104, which will be elided in the Plural by II. 4. 64). Some read it as शकलसणकाः, where the इ॒ affix after Saṇaka is elided by II. 4. 66. So also शुनकधाव्रेयः ॥

9. शाणकबाब्ध्रवाः (the son of Babhru is Bābhṛavā). 10. आर्चाभिमौद्धलाः (Archāvināḥ are those who study the work produced by Richāvā, the affix

णिनि being added by IV. 3. 104. Mudgala belongs to Kānvādi class IV. 2. 111; Maudgalāḥ are pupils of the son of Mudgala). 11. कृतिसुराष्ट्रः: This a Dvandva of Kunti and Surāshṭra in the plural or of the country-names derived from them like Avanti. Kunti and Chinti have acute on the final. 12. चिन्तिसुराष्ट्रः: as the last. 13. तप्तवत्पदः: (Both belong to Pachādi class formed by अ॒ III. 1. 134, from तडि ताडे ने Bhvādi 300, वत्पद is formed from the same root with the prefix अ॒, the अ॒ being elided, and both have acute on the final: and are enumerated in the Gargādi list IV. 1. 105. In the plural the patronymic affix यस् is elided by II. 4. 64. 14. गर्भवत्सः: Here also यस् affix is elided II. 4. 64. 15. आविमन्तकामवधाः or विद्धाः: II. Avimatta has acute on the first being formed by the नस् particle. Both the words lose इस् patronymic by II. 4. 66.

16. बाभ्रवशालङ्कायनाः: The son of Bābhrū is Bābhrava, and the son of Śalaṅka or Śalaṅka of नडार्थ IV. 1. 99 is Śalaṅkāyana.

17. बाभ्रवशनच्युताः: Dānchyuta takes इस् in the patronymic which is elided by II. 4. 66.

18. कठकालापाः: Kāṭhāḥ are those who read the work of Kāṭha, the affix णिनि (IV. 3. 104) being elided by IV. 3. 107. Those who study the work of Kalāpiṇ are Kālāpāḥ, the अ॒ being added by IV. 3. 108, which required the इन् of kalāpiṇ to be retained by VI. 4. 164 but by a Vārtika under VI. 4. 144 the इन् portion is elided before अ॒ ॥

19. कठकौथुमा: Those who study the work of Kuthumin are कौथुमा: formed by अ॒ IV. 1. 83 the इन् being elided before अ॒ by VI. 4. 144 Vārt already referred to above.

20. कौथुमलौकाक्षा: Those who study the work of Lokākṣha are Laukākshāḥ. Or the son of Lokākṣha is Laukākṣhi, the pupils of latter are Laukākshāḥ.

21. स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ Strī has accent on the final.

22. मौदीपैष्पलादाः: the son of Muda is Maudi, the pupils of latter are Maudāḥ. So also Paippalādāḥ.

23. मौदीपैष्पलादः: The double reading of this word indicates that Rule VI. 1. 223 also applies.

24. वत्सजरन् or वत्सजरन्तः = वस्त + जरन् ॥ Vatsā has acute on the final.

25. So also सौश्रुतपार्थवाः: The pupils of Suśruta and Prīthu are so called they take अ॒ IV. 1. 83. 26. जरामृत्यु, 27. याज्यानुवाक्ये Yājya is formed by प॒यन् added to यज्, the ज् is not changed to a Guttural by VII. 3. 66. It has svarita on the final by तिरु accent (VI. 1. 185). Anuvākyā is derived from anu+ vach+प॒यन् ॥

महान् व्रीहीपराह्नगृष्णीष्वासजायालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु ॥ ३८ ॥ प-दानि ॥ महान् व्रीही, अपराह्न, गृष्णि, इष्वास, जायाल, भारं, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, प्रवृद्धेषु, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदमिति वर्तते, इन्द्रानि निवृत्तम् । महानित्येतत्पूर्वपदं त्रीहि अपराह्ण, गृष्टि इष्वास जाबाल भार भारत हैलिहिल रौरव प्रवृद्ध इत्येतेषु नरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । १

38. The word **महत्** (**महा**) retains its accent before the following : त्रीहि, अपराह्ण, गृष्टि, इष्वास, जाबाल, भार, भारत, हैलिहिल, रौरव, and प्रवृद्ध ॥

Thus महैत्रीहिः, महैपराहणः, महैगृष्टिः, महैज्वासः, महैजाबालः, महैभारः, महैहैलिहिलः, महैरौरवः, महैप्रवृद्धः ॥ The महत् has acute on the final. (Uṇ II. 84) On the पतिपश्चन्त् maxim already mentioned under VI. 2. 26, this accent will apply to that compound of महत् which it forms under rule II. 1. 61, for that is the particular rule of Karmadhāraya compounding relating to mahat (pratipadokta). This rule therefore, will not apply to Genitive Tatpurusha. Thus महतो त्रीहिः = महद्त्रीहिः which has accent on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Q. The word प्रवृद्ध is a Participle formed by क्त् affix, and by rule VI. 2. 46, in a Karmadhāraya compound, the first member will retain its original accent. What is then the necessity of reading this word in this sūtra? Ans. That sūtra VI. 2. 46 applies, on the maxim of pradipadokta, to the special participles and nouns mentioned in II. 1. 59 and not to every participle and noun.

क्षुलकश्च वैश्वदेवे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुलकः, च, वैश्वदेवे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षुलक इत्येतत्पूर्वपदं महांश्च वैश्वदेवउत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

39. The words **mahat** and **kshullaka** retain their accent before the word **Vaisvadeva**.

Thus महैवैश्वदेवम्, and क्षुलकैवैश्वदेवम् ॥ The word **kshullaka** is derived thus क्षुलं लाति = क्षुलः to which the Diminutive क (V. 3. 73 &c) is added : and the word has udātta on the final.

उष्टः सादिवाम्योः ॥ ४० ॥ पंदनि ॥ उष्टः, सादि, वाम्योः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्त्रशब्दः पूर्वपदं सप्तश्चिवाम्योहन्तरपदयोःप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

40. The word ‘ushtra’ retains its accent before ‘sâdi’ and ‘vâmi’.

Thus उष्टसादि and उष्टवामि ॥ The word उष्ट is derived from उष् by श्वर् affix (Uṇ IV. 162) and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). This is either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. In some texts the above examples are given with a visarga in the masculine, and not Neuter.

गौः सादंसादिसारथिषु ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ गौः, साद, सादि, सारथिषु, प्रकृति स्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोशब्दः पूर्वपदं साद सादि सारथि इत्येतेषु नरपदेषु प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

41. The word 'गो' retains its accent before 'सादा', 'सादि', and 'सारथी'.

Thus गोःसादः or गां सादयति = गो॑स्प्रदः, गोः सादिः = गो॑सादिः, and गो॑सारथिः ॥ साद is formed from सद् with the affix घञ् and forms a Genitive compound (गोः साद). Or from the causative verb सादयति, we get गोसादः by adding अण् (III. 9. 1) गोसादी is formed by णिनि from the same causative root. The Kṛit-accent is debarred in the case of साद and सादिः, the Samāsa-accent VI. 1. 223 in the case of सारथी ॥

कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगुरुवसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृष्टुपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रूः पण्यकम्बलो
दासीभाराणां च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरुगार्हपत, रिक्तगुरु, असूतजरती, अश्लीलदृष्टु-
दृष्टुपा, पारेवडबा, तैतिलकद्रूः, पण्यकम्बलः, दासीभाराणाम्, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरुगार्हपत रिक्तगुरु असूतजरती अश्लीलदृष्टुपा पारेवडबा तैतिलकद्रू पण्यकम्बल इत्येते समा-
सात्त्वेषां दासीभाराणां च पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुरुवृज्ज्योर्गार्हपतश्चित् वन्नव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ संज्ञायामिति उन्नव्यम् ॥

42. The first member retains its accent in the following :—‘Kuru-gārhapata’, ‘Rikta-guru’, ‘Asūta-jaratī’, ‘Aslīla-dṛidha-rūpā’, ‘Pāre-vadabā’, ‘Taitila-kadrūḥ’, ‘Pan-ya-kambalaḥ’ and ‘Dāsī-bhāra &c’.

The first seven words are compounds, the first two of these are exhibited without any case-ending, the remaining five are in nom. Singular. Thus कुरुगार्हपतम् (कुरुगां गार्हपत, Kuru is formed by कु affix added to कु Uṇ I. 24,) and has acute on the final.

Vārti :—So also वृज्जिगार्हपतम्, the word Vṛiji has acute accent on the first.

So also रिक्तो शुरः = रिक्तशुरः or रिक्तशुरः for rikta has acute either on the first or on the second (VI. 1. 208). So also असूता जरती = असूतजरती, अश्लीलदृष्टुपा = अश्लील
दृष्टुपा ॥ Asūtā and aslīla being formed by नञ् particle have acute on the first : (VI. 2. 2). That which has शी is called श्लील, the affix लञ् being added by its belonging to Sidhmādi class, and र changed to ल by its belonging to Kāpilakādi class. So also पारेवडबा, this is = पारेवडबेव ॥ This is a samāsa with the force of इव, and there is elision of the case ending. The word पार belongs to Ghṛitādi class, and has acute on the final. तैतिलानां कद्रूः = तैतिलकद्रूः, 'the son' or pupil of Taitilā is Taitila formed by अण् affix. पण्यकम्बलः, panya ends in यत् and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 213).

Vārti :—पण्यकम्बलः has acute on the first only when it is a name. Otherwise in पण्यतव्ये कम्बले compound, the accent will be on the final by the general rule VI. 1. 223. The word पण्य being formed by यत् affix (III. 1. 101) is acutely accented on the first (VI. 1. 213). The word पण्यकम्बलः is as Name when it means the market-blanket i. e. a blanket of a well known determinate size

and fixed price, which is generally kept for sale by the blanket-sellers. But when the compound means a saleable blanket, it takes the samasa accent (VI. 1. 223). If it be objected what is the use this Vartika, for the word पण्ण being formed by a kritya affix, will retain its accent in the Tatpurusha, by VI. 2. 2, we reply that the कृत्य used in VI. 2. 2 relates to pratipadokta kritya compounds such as ordained by कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या II. 1. 68, while here the compound is by विशेषणं विशेषणे II. 1. 51 and is a general compound. So also दास्याभारः = दासीभारः ॥ The words belonging to Dāsi bhārādi class are all those Tatpurusha compound words, not governed by any of the rules of accent, in which it is desired that the first member should retain its accent. Some of them are देवैज्ञतिः, देवैसूतिः, देवतीतिः, वैदुनीतिः ॥ Vasu has acute on the first being formed by a नित् affix Un I. 9. 10). ओषधिः = ओषोधीयतेऽस्याम्, formed by किं affix (III. 3. 93), ओष �being formed by पश्च has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197). अन्द्रमाः is formed by असि affix added to the root माङ् माने preceded by the upapada अन्द्र as, अन्द्र + मा + अस् = अन्द्रमस्, the affix being treated as डित् (Un IV. 228), and अन्द्र is formed by एक affix (Un II. 13) and has acute on the final.

चतुर्थी तदर्थे ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुर्थीं, तदर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं तदर्थउत्तरपदे तदभिधेयार्थं यत्तद्वाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । तदिति चतुर्थ्यन्तस्यार्थः परामृश्यते ।

43. A word in the Dative case as the first member retains its accent, when the second member expresses that which is suited to become the former.

Thus शूपदारु, कुण्डलहिरण्यम् ॥ The word शूप् has accent on the first syllable, as it is formed by प (Un III. 27) treated as a नित् (Un III. 26). The word कुण्डल is formed by कल affix which is treated as चित् (Un. I. 108) and has acute on the final. So also रैयदारु, वलीहिरण्यम् ॥ Ratha is first-acute formed by kthan affix (Un II. 2). Vallī has acute on the final formed by डीष् affix. (IV. 1. 41) Why do we say 'it being suited to the first'? Observe कुवरबलिः ॥ This accent applies when the second member denoting the material is modified into the first by workmanship. The composition takes place by II. 1. 36.

अर्थे ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुर्थीति वर्तते । अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे चतुर्थ्यन्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

44. Before the word 'artha', the first member in the Dative retains its accent.

Thus मात्रे इवं = माऽर्थम्, देवैतार्थम्, अतिष्ठर्थम् ॥ The words मातृ and पितृ are finally acute as taught so in Unādi sūtra (Un II. 95): देवता being formed by a लित् affix (V. 4. 27) has acute on the middle; अतिथि is formed by इथित् affix and has acute on the first.

The difference between तस्य and अर्थ is that the former, like वसु 'wood', दिव्य 'gold', has not inherent in it the sense of adaptability, while अर्थ means 'adapted'. Some say that the making of two sūtras, one with तस्य and the other with अर्थ indicates, that the former rule is applicable only to that compound where the material itself is changed into the substance of the first. Therefore the rule does not apply to भवधारीः, अशुद्धम् &c, though 'grass be suited for the horse' &c.

केच ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, च, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञान्ते ज्ञान्तरपदे चतुर्थयन्तं पूर्वपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ।

45. The first member in the Dative case retains its accent before a Past Participle in क्त ॥

Thus गौहितम्, मनुष्यहितम्, अभ्यहितम्, गोरक्षितम्, अभ्यरक्षितम्, तापसीरक्षितम् वनम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. I. 36. The compound गोरक्षितं means गो-भ्यासीयते and is a sampradana Dative.

कर्मधारये इनिष्टा ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मधारये, अनिष्टा, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे ज्ञान्तउच्चरपदे इनिष्टान्तं पूर्वपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

46. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', the first member, when it itself is not a Past Participle, retains its original accent in a Karmadhāraya compound.

This rule is confined to the Past Participles and the Nouns specifically mentioned in II. I. 59; on the maxim of prati padokta &c. Thus श्रेणी-कृताः, पूर्णकृताः, ऊर्कृताः, निधनकृताः ॥ The word श्रेणी has acute on the first as it is formed by the affix नि which is considered नित् (Uṇ IV. 51). The word पूर्ण is end-acute as it is formed by the affix गक् (Uṇ I. 124). The word ऊर्क् is also end-acute (VI. 2. 32). The word निधन् has acute on the middle. Why do we say in a Karmadhāraya compound? Observe श्रेणी कृतं = श्रेणीकृतम् ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a non-nishṭhā word?' Observe कृताकृतम् ॥ Here the compounding is by II. I. 60.

अहीने द्वितीया ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहीने, द्वितीया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहीनवाचिनि समासे ज्ञान्तउच्चरपदे द्वितीयान्तं पूर्वपदे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्वितीयानुपसर्गइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. Before a Past Participle in 'kta', a word ending in the Accusative case retains its accent, when it does not mean a separation.

Thus कष्टिश्चितः, त्रिशकलपतिः, आमगतः ॥ Kashṭa has acute on the end, triśakala is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trīṇi śakalāni asya), and consequently acute on the first: grāma has acute on the first as it is formed by the नित् affix

मन् added to अम्, the final being replaced by आ (Uṇ I. 143) ॥ Why do we say ‘when not meaning separation’? Observe कान्तारातीतः, योजनातीतः, because one has taken himself beyond kāntāra and yojana.

Vart:—This rule does not apply when the Past Participle has an upasarga attached; as सुखपासैः, दुःखप्राप्तैः, सुखापत्रैः, दुःखापत्रैः (VI. 4. 144). This is an exception to rule VI. 2. 144.

तृतीया कर्मणि ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया, कर्मणि, (पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मवाचिनि ज्ञान्तउच्चरपेत् तृतीयान्तं पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

48. A word ending in an Instrumental case retains its accent before the Past Participle in ‘kta’, when it has a Passive meaning.

Thus औहहतः or अहैहतः रुद्रैहतः, वैज्ञहतः, महाराजैहतः, नखैनिर्भिन्ना, हौत्तलूना ॥ The word ‘ahi’ is derived from इन् with the proposition आ which is shortened, and the affix इण् (Uṇ IV. 138), and has acute on the final, according to others the acute is on the first: Rudra is formed by रुद्र affix (Uṇ II. 22) added to the causative रोदि; Mahārāja is formed by the Samāsanta affix दच्; nakha is formed by ख affix added to नह् (Uṇ V. 23) or it may be a Bahuvrihi नास्य खमस्ति = नखः, formed by अच् (V. 4. 121), and has acute on the final: Dâtra is formed by द्वन् (III. 2. 182). Why do we say when having a Passive significance? Observe रथेन यातः = रथयातैः, the ‘kta’ is added to a verb of motion with an Active significance.

गतिरनन्तरः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, अनन्तरः (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ के कर्मणीति वर्तते । कर्मवाचिनि ज्ञान्तउच्चरपेत् गतिरनन्तरः पूर्वपदं प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

49. A word called Gati (I. 4. 60) when standing immediately before a Participle in ‘kta’ having a Passive significance, retains its accent.

Thus प्रैकृतः, प्रैकृतः ॥ Here one of the following rules would have applied otherwise, namely, either (1) the Samasa end-acute IV. 1. 223 (2) or the Indeclinable first member to retain its accent VI. 2. 2, (3) or the end acute by VI. 2. 139 and 144. The present sūtra debars all these. Why do we say ‘immediately’? Observe अभ्युदधृतः, सम्भुदधृतः, सषुदधृतः ॥ Where the distant Gati words अभि and सम् do not preserve their accent, but the immediately preceding Gati, as उत् does retain its accent, though it is not the first member of the compound word. Compare also VIII. 2. 70. But in दूरात् + औगतः (āgata being governed by this rule) we have दूरादागतैः, (II. 1. 39 and VI. 3. 2) where VI. 2. 144 has its scope, though it had not its scope in अभि + उदधृतः = अभ्युदधृतः ॥ In the former case this maxim applies कृद्यह्येण गतिकारकपूर्वस्थापि अह्येण ॥ “A Kṛit affix denotes whenever it is employed, a word-form which begins with that to which that

Kṛit affix has been added, and which ends with the Kṛit affix, but moreover should a Gati or a noun such as denotes a case-relation have been prefixed to that word-form, then the Kṛit affix must denote the same word-form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it". In the second example, this maxim is not applied, because scope should be given to the word अनन्तर in this aphorism. When the Participle has not a Passive significance, the rule does not apply because the word कर्मणि is understood here also ; as, प्रकृतः कर्तुं देवस्तः ॥ This sūtra debars VI. 2. 144.

तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तादौ, च, निति, कृति, अ-तौ ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तकारादै च तुश्चद्वर्जिते निति कृति परतो गतिरनन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवति ॥

50. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before (a word formed by) a Kṛit-affix beginning with त्, which has an indicatory न्, but not before तु ॥

Thus प्रैकर्ता (with त्), प्रैकर्तुम् (with तुन्), प्रैकृतिः (with नित्) ॥ This sūtra debars the Kṛit-affix accent (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say "before an affix beginning with त्"? Observe प्रज्ञल्पाकः formed with the affix शाकत् (III. 2. 155), and the Gati प्र, the accent being governed by VI. 2. 139. Why do we say 'which is नित्'? Observe प्रकृतर्ता formed by तृच् affix. When a Kṛit-affix takes the augment इट्, it does not lose its character of beginning with त् on the Vartika कृदुपदेशो वा ताद्यर्थमिदर्थम् ॥ Thus प्रैन्तर्पिता, प्रैन्तर्पितुम् ॥ Why do we say "but not before तु"? Observe आगन्तुः with the Uṇādi affix तुन् ॥

तवै चान्तश्च युगपत् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवै, च, अन्तः, च, युगपत्. (उदात्तः प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तवैप्रत्ययस्यान्त उशन्तो भवति गतिश्चानन्तरः प्रकृतिस्वर इति एतदुभयं युगपद्वति ॥

51. An immediately preceding Gati retains its original accent before an Infinitive in तवै (III. 4. 14) but whereby simultaneously the final has the acute as well.

Thus अन्वेतवै, पैरिस्तरितवै, पैरिपानवै, अभिचारितवै ॥ All upasargas have acute on the first except 'abhi': which therefore has acute on the final. (Phit Su IV. 13) which declares उपसर्ग उभ्यशन्ता अभिवर्जम् ॥ This debars कृत् accent (VI. 2. 139) and is an exception to the rule that in a single word, a single syllable only has acute.

अनिगन्तोञ्चतौ चप्रत्यये ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिगन्तः, अञ्चतौ, चप्रत्यये, (प्रकृतिस्वरः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिगन्तो गतिः प्रकृतिस्वरो भवत्यञ्चतौ चप्रत्यये वरतः ॥

52. An immediately preceding Gati not ending in इ or उ, retains its original accent before अञ्च when an affix having a व् follows.

Thus प्रौङ्, प्रौञ्चौ, प्रौञ्चः or प्रौङ्, प्राञ्जौ, प्राञ्चः || The accent is acute and optionally svarita by VIII. 2. 6. So also पैरा३, पैराञ्चौ, पैराञ्चः, पैराचः, पैराचा || But with प्रति which ends in इ, we have प्रत्य३, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः here by VI. 2. 139 the second member retains its original accent. Why do we say 'before an affix व्'? Observe उञ्ज्ञनः || When the nasal of 'añch' is elided, then rule VI. 1. 222 presents itself; but that rule is superseded when a Gati not ending in इ or उ precedes, because the present rule is subsequent. Thus पैराचः and पैराचा: || In some texts, the reading is अञ्चतात्प्रत्यये || The affix व् is like क्रिष्ण &c., (VI. 1. 67).

न्यधी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि, अधी, च, (प्रकृतिस्वरौ) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नि अधि इत्येतां चाञ्चतौ वपत्यये परतः प्रकृतिस्वरौ भवतः ॥

53. The Gatis नि and अधि, however, retain their original accent before 'añch' followed by a व् affix.

Thus न्य॒ङ्, न्यञ्चौ, न्यञ्चः || The अ becomes svarita by VIII. 2. 4. So also अ॑ध्य॒ङ्, अ॑ध्यञ्चौ, अ॑ध्यञ्चः, अ॑धी॒ङ्, अ॑धीञ्चः, न॑ी॒ङ्, न॑ीञ्चः ||

ईपदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईपत्, अन्यतरस्या, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईषद्विद्यतर्पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

54. The word ईपत् when first member of a compound may optionally preserve its original accent.

Thus ई॑षत्कडारः or ई॑षत्कडारैः, ई॑षत्पिङ्गलः or ई॑षत्पिङ्गलैः: || ई॑षत् has acute on the final. But in ई॑षद्बेदः &c., the Kṛit-accent will necessarily take place (VI. 2. 139); no option being allowed; because the compounds to which the present rule applies are, on the maxim of prati padokta, those formed by ई॑षत् with non-Kṛit words under II. 2. 7.

हिरण्यपरिमाणं धने ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिरण्य-परिमाणम्, धने, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हिरण्यपरिमाणवाच पूर्वपै धनशब्दउत्तरपै इन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

55. The first member, denoting the quantity of gold, retains optionally its original accent, before the word धन ॥

Thus द्विसुवर्णैधनम् or द्विसुवर्णधनैम् ॥ This is a Karmadhāraya compound द्वैसुवर्णों परिमाणस्य = द्विसुवर्णं, तेऽव धनम् ॥ It may also be treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the accent will be of that compound, as द्विसुवर्णधनः or द्विसुवर्ण-धनः ॥ Why do we say 'gold'? Observe प्रस्थधनम् ॥ Why do we say 'quantity'? Observe काञ्चनधनैम् ॥ Why do we say 'धन'? Observe निष्कमाला ॥

प्रथमो अचिरोपसंपत्तौ ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमः अचिरः उपसम्पत्तौ (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमशब्दः पूर्वपूर्वाचिरोपसंपत्तौ गम्यमानायामन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति । अचिरोपसंपत्तिर-
चिरोपश्लेषो अभिनवत्वम् ॥

56. The word **प्रथम** when standing first in a compound, retains optionally its original accent when meaning 'a novice'.

The word अचिरोपसंपत्ति = अचिरोपश्लेष or अभिनवत्वम् ॥ Thus प्रथमवैयाकरणः or प्रथमवैयाकरणे = संप्रतिव्याकरणमध्येतुं प्रवृत्तः 'one who has recently commenced to study Grammar'. The word प्रथम is derived from प्रथ by अम् (Uṇ V. 68) and by चित् accent the acute falls on the last. Why do we say when meaning 'a Novice?' Observe प्रथमवैयाकरणे (वैयाकरणानामायो मुख्यो वा यः सः) 'the first Grammian or a Grammian of the first rank'. It will *always* have acute on the final.

कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कतर-कतमौ, कर्मधारये, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कतरशब्दः कतमशब्दश्च पूर्वपदं कर्मधारये समासे इन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

57. The words कतर and कतम standing as the first member of a compound retain optionally their original accent in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus कतरकठः or कतरकडः, कतमकठः or कतमकडः ॥ The word Karmadhâraya is used for the sake of the next sûtra, this sûtra could have done without it, as 'katara' and 'katama' by the maxim of pratipadokta, form only Karmadhâraya compound by II. 1. 63.

आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः ॥५८॥ पदानि ॥ आर्यः, ब्राह्मण-कुमारयोः, प्रकृतिस्वरम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आर्यशब्दः पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारशब्दयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे इन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

58. The word आर्य optionally retains its original accent in a Karmadhâraya, before the words ब्राह्मण and कुमार ॥

Thus आर्यब्राह्मणः or आर्यब्राह्मणे, आर्यकुमारः or आर्यकुमारैः ॥ The word आर्य is formed by अर्यत् affix and has swarita on the final. Why do we say 'Arya'? Observe परमब्राह्मणः, परमकुमारैः ॥ Why do we say before 'Brâhmaña' and 'Kumâra'? Observe आर्यसर्वत्रयः ॥ Why 'Karmadhâraya'? Observe आर्यस्य ब्राह्मणः = भार्यब्राह्मणः ॥ According to the Accentuated Text the accent is आर्य (Pro. Bohtlingk).

राजा च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ राजा च पूर्वपदं ब्राह्मणकुमारयोरुत्तरपदयोः कर्मधारये समासे इन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

59. The word राजन् retains optionally its accent before the words 'Brâhmaña' and 'Kumâra', in a Karmadhâraya.

Thus रौजब्राह्मणः or राजब्राह्मणः, रौजकुमारः or राजकुमारैः ॥ The word राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् added to राज् (U१ I. 156). But राजो ब्राह्मण = राजब्राह्मणः where the compound is not Karmadhāraya. The making of this a separate aphorism is for the purpose of preventing the yathāsankhya rule and also for the sake of the subsequent sūtra into which the anuvritti of राजन् runs and not of राज्यै ॥

षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, प्रत्येनसि, (अन्यतरस्याम् राजा प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजाति वर्तते, अन्यतरस्यामिति च । षष्ठपत्तो राजशब्दः पूर्वपद प्रत्येनस्युच्चरे अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

60. The word 'rājan' ending in the Genitive case optionally retains its accent before the word प्रत्येनस् ॥

The words राजन् and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. Thus रौजः प्रत्येनाः or राजः प्रत्येनैः ॥ The sign of the Genitive is not elided by VI.3. 21. When आक्रोश is not meant we have, रौजप्रत्येनाः or राजप्रत्येनैः ॥ Why do we say 'ending in the Genitive'? Observe राजा चासौ प्रध्येनाभ्यः=राजप्रत्येनाः no option.

के नित्यार्थे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ के, नित्यार्थे (पूर्वपदम् अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्वान्तउच्चरपै नित्यार्थे समासे पूर्वपदमन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

61. A word having the sense of 'always', retains optionally its accent before a Past Participle in के ॥

Thus नित्यप्रहसितः or नित्यप्रहसितैः, सतसैप्रहसितः or सततप्रहसितैः ॥ These are Accusative compounds formed under Rule II. 1. 28. नित्य is formed by त्यप् affix added to the upasarga नि (IV. 2. 104 Vārt); and has acute on the first, the upasarga retaining its accent, the affix being anudātta (III. 1. 4). The word सतत being formed by च्छ affix with the force of भावः, has acute on final by VI. 2. 144. If it be considered to have been formed by कर्मणि च्छ, then the accent will be on the beginning by VI. 2. 49. Why do we say when the first term means 'always'? Observe मुद्रूर्तप्रहसितैः ॥ In the case of नित्यप्रहसितः &c the samāsa accent VI. 1. 223 was first set aside by the Accusative Tatpurusha accent VI. 2. 2, this in its turn was set aside by च्छ accent VI. 2. 144, which is again debarred by the present.

ग्रामः शिलिपनि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामः, शिलिपनि, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृति स्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामशब्दः पूर्वपद शिलिपवाच्चिन्युभरपै अन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

62. The word ग्राम when first member of a compound, optionally retains its accent before a word denoting "a professional man or artisan".

Thus आमनापितः or आमनापितैः, आमकुलालः or आमकुलालैः ॥ The word आम has acute on the first. Why do we say "आम"? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say 'a śilpi a professional workman'? Observe आमीरथा; where there is no option.

राजा च प्रशंसायाम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजा, च, प्रशंसायाम्, (अन्यतरस्याम् प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजशब्दः पूर्वपदं शिल्पिवाचिन्युत्तरपदे प्रशंसायां गम्यमानाया मन्यतरस्यां प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

63. The word राजन् followed by a profession-denoting noun, optionally retains its accent, when praise is to be expressed.

Thus रौजनापितः or राजनापितैः, रौजकुलालः or राजकुलालैः "A royal barber i.e. a skillful barber or one fit to serve the king even" &c. It may be either a Karmadhāraya or a Genitive compound. Why do we say 'राजन्'? Observe परमनापितैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting praise'? Observe राजनापितैः 'king's barber'. Why do we say 'a professional man'? Observe राजहस्ती 'a royal elephant'.

आदिरुदात्तः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, उदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरुदात्त इत्येतदधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्वक्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्यादिरुदात्तो भवतीयेवं तद्विस्तव्यम् ॥

64. In the following up to VI. 2. 91 inclusive the phrase "the first syllable in—(the word standing in the Nominative) has the acute", is to be always supplied.

This is an adhikāra aphorism. The first syllable of the पूर्वपद will get the acute in the following aphorisms. In short, the phrase 'ādir udātta' should be supplied to complete the sense of the subsequent sūtras. The very next sūtra illustrates it. That sūtra literally means "a word in the Locative case or a word denoting the name of the receiver of a tax or tribute, standing before a word denoting that which is lawful, but not before हरण". To complete the sense we must supply the words "has acute on the first syllable". Thus स्त्रौपशाणः, मुकुटः कार्षपणम्, वैक्षिकाभ्यः, नियाकरणहस्ती ॥ The word आदि 'the first syllable' is understood upto VI. 2. 91, the word उदात्त has longer stretch: it governs upto VI. 2. 137.

सप्तमोहारिणौ धर्म्ये ऽहरणे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तमी, हारिणौ, धर्म्ये, अहरणे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तं हारिवाचि च पूर्वपदं धर्म्यवाचिनि हरणशब्दादन्यास्मिन्तुत्तरपदे आद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

65. The first member of a compound, if in the Locative case or denoting the name of the Receiver of a tax, has acute on the first syllable, when the second member is a word denoting 'what is lawful', but not when it is हरण ॥

The word हारिण् means 'appropriates the dues or taxes': and धर्म्यम् means 'the due or tax which has been determined by 'the custom or usage, of the country, town, sect' or family. that which one is lawfully entitled to get'. The word धर्म्य is formed by अत् under IV. 4. 91 and 92 and has the sense of both. Of Locative words we have the following examples: —स्तुपे-शाणः हुकुटे-काषापणम्, हले-द्विपदिका, हैले-त्रिपदिका, हैषदि-माषकः ॥ These compounds are formed under II. 1. 44, and the sign of the Locative is not elided by VI. 3. 9 and 10. With the name of a due-receiver शारी we have the following:—आतिकाशः 'the horse which is the customary due of the sacrificer'. So also वैयाकरणहस्ती, मौतुलाशः, पितृव्यगदः ॥ In some places the established usage is to give a शाण coin in every sacred Tope &c, or to give a horse to a sacrificer &c. Why do we say 'what is lawful'? Observe स्तम्भेरनैः, कर्मकर वर्दितकैः वर्दितको नाम स्त्रेण स्थूलोग्रे सूक्ष्म ओद्धन पिण्डः, स कर्मकराय दीयते, अन्यथा कर्म न कुर्यादिति, न त्वयं धर्मः ॥ Why do we say "but not before हरण"? Observe वाडबहरणम् 'that which is given to a mare'. हरण is that customary food which is given to a mare after she has been covered, in order to strengthen her. The word हरण is a Kṛit-formed word, its exclusion here indicates that other Kṛit-formed words however are governed by this rule when preceded by a शारी denoting word; and thus this sūtra supersedes the Kṛit accent enjoined by VI. 2. 139, so far. Thus वाडबहायः has acute on the first by this rule, the subsequent VI. 2. 139 not applying.

युक्ते च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्ते, च, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तवाचिनि च समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ।

66. The first member of a compound has acute on the first syllable, when the second member denotes that by whom the things denoted by the first are regulated or kept in order.

The word युक्त means 'he who is prompt in the discharge of his appointed duty' i. e. the person appointed to look after. Thus गोवल्लवः 'a cowherd looking after cow': औश्ववल्लवः, गो॑भण्णदः, औ॑श्वभण्णदः, गो॑संख्यः, औ॑श्वसंख्यः ॥ All these word बल्लवः, मण्णदः, संख्यः &c mean पालकः 'the protector &c.

विभाषा अध्यक्षे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अध्यक्षे, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अध्येकशब्दउत्तरपदं विभाषा पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

67. The acute is optionally on the first syllable when the word अध्यक्ष follows.

Thus मैवाध्यक्षः or गवाध्यक्षः 'a superintendent of cows': औ॑श्वाध्यक्षः or अ॒श्वाध्यक्षः ॥

पापं च शिलिपनि ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पापम्, च, शिलिपनि, (विभाषा)(आद्युदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पापशब्दः शिलिपवाचिन्युत्तरपदं विभाषा उद्युशतो भवति ॥

68. The word पाप has optionally acute on the first syllable when followed by a word denoting a professional man.

Thus पौपनापितः or पापनापितः, सोपकुलालः or पापकुलालः ॥ This rule applies to the pratipadokta samâsa of पाप in the sense of censure as taught in II. 1. 54, when it is an appositional compound; and not when it forms a Genitive compound. Thus पापस्यनापितः = पापनापितः ॥

गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु द्वेषे ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र, अन्तेवासि, माणव, ब्राह्मणेषु, द्वेषे, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिन्यन्तेवासिवाचिनिं चोत्तरपेत्रं माणवब्राह्मणयोश्च क्षपवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाशुदात्तम् भवति ॥

69. The first syllable of the first member of a compound has the acute accent before a Patronymic name or a scholar-name, as well as before माणव and ब्राह्मण, when a reproach is meant.

Thus जंघावात्स्यः = यो जंघावानं ददन्यहमिति वात्स्यः, संपदते सः; यत्र शाद्वार्द्धं वात्स्यानामेव पादप्रक्षालनं क्रियते, तज्जावात्स्यः सन् वात्स्याऽहमिति ब्रुते तज्जाभाय सः ॥ भार्यासौभ्रुतः 'a descendant of Suśruta under the petticoat government of his wife'. The compounding takes place by the analogy of शाकपार्थिषः ॥ वैशाब्राह्मकृतयः (Brahmakrita belongs to Subhrâdi class). The above are examples of Gotra words. Now with scholar names. कृमारीशाक्षा: 'the pupils of Daksha for the sake of marriage i. e. who study the work of Daksha or make themselves the pupils of Daksha for the sake of girls'. कैम्बलचारायणीया:, वैतराणीया:, and औषदपाणिनीया: &c. भैक्षामाणवः = भिक्षांलस्येऽहमिति माणवो भवति ॥ वैसीब्राह्मणः, वैषली ब्राह्मणः, भैयब्राह्मणः = यो भयेन ब्राह्मणः संपदते ॥ Compounding by II. 1. 4 where no other rule applies. Why do we say 'when followed by a Gotra word?' Observe शसीश्चात्रियैः ॥ Why do we say 'when reproach is meant?' Observe भद्रब्राह्मणः ॥

अङ्गानि मैरेये ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गानि, मैरेये, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मैरेयशब्दउत्तरपेत्रं तदङ्गवाचीनि पूर्वपदम्याशुदात्तानि भवति ॥

70. The first syllable of the word preceding मैरेय, gets the acute, when it denotes the ingredient of the same.

Thus गुडमैरेयः 'the wine maireya prepared from treacle or molasses', मधुमैरेयः 'the maireya prepared from honey'. Why do we say when denoting 'an ingredient?' Observe परमैरेयः ॥ 'Why do we say "before मैरेय?" Observe उष्पासङ्गः ॥ Every sort of spirituous liquor except सुगा is called मैरेय ॥

भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्ताख्याः, तदर्थेषु, (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तमन्तं तदाख्यास्तद्वाचिनः शब्दास्तदर्थेषु तत्रपेत्रं यु भाष्युदात्ता भवति ॥

71. A word denoting food gets the acute on the first syllable, when standing before a word which denotes a repository suited to contain that.

Thus भैशाब्रासः, भैक्ककंसः, शौणाकंसः, शौभीकंसः ॥ The words like विशा, भन्त &c, are names of food. Why do we say 'when denoting the name of food'? Observe समाशाशालव्यः (the word समाश=समशन is the name of 'an action' and not of a 'substance'). Why do we say 'tadarthesu suited to contain that'? Observe भिक्षाप्रियः which is a Bahuvrihi, and the first member gets acute on the final.

गोविडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, विडाल, सिंह, सैन्धवेषु, उपमाने, (आदूयुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गवाच्चिष्ठूपमानवाच्चिष्ठूतरपदेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युवाच्च भवति ॥

72. A word denoting the object of comparison gets the acute on the first syllable when standing before गो, विडाल, सिंह, and सैन्धव ॥

Thus धान्यगवः=धान्यं गौरिव ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 1. 56, the words गो &c, being considered to belong to Vyāghrādi class, which is an Akritigana. The meaning of the compound must be given according to usage and appropriateness. Thus धान्यगवः means गवाकृत्याऽवस्थितं धान्यं ॥ So also हैरण्यगवः, भिक्षाब्रिडालः, ब्रैद्याणब्रिडालः, तृणसिंहः, कौष्ठिसिंहः, संकुसैन्धवः, पौनसैन्धवः ॥ Why do we say "when denoting the object of comparision"? Observe परमसिंहः ॥

अके जीविकार्थं ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अके, जीविकार्थं, (आदूयुदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकप्रत्यान्त उत्तरपदे जीविकार्थवाच्चिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाद्युवाच्च भवति ॥

73. The first member of a compound has the acute on the first syllable when the second member is a word ending in the affix अक, and the compound expresses a calling by which one gets his living.

Thus इन्तलेखकः, नैन्तलेखकः, अवस्करणोपकः, ईमणीयकारकः=इन्तलेखनादिभिर्योर्बां जीविका ॥ The compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say when meaning 'means of living'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि ॥ All affixes which ultimately become अक by taking substitutes, are called अक affixes. Thus पञ्च, बुन् &c are अक affixes (VII. 1. 1). Why do we say "ending in the affix अक"? Observe रमणीयकर्ता ॥ Here the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17, and the affix तृच् is added in the sense of sport and not of livelihood.

प्राचाम् क्रीडायाम् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, क्रीडायाम्, (आदूयुदात्तम्)
वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचंदशर्वान्तनां या क्रीडा तद्वाच्चिनि समासे इकप्रत्यान्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाद्युवाच्च भवति ॥

74. A compound the second member of which is a word ending in अक् affix, and which denotes the sport of the Eastern people, gets the acute accent on the first syllable.

Thus दैत्यालकपुष्पभजिका, वीरणपुष्पप्रचायिका, शालभजिका, ताँलभजिका ॥ These are formed by पुल् affix (III. 3. 109), and the compounding takes place by II. 2. 17. Why do we say 'of the Eastern Folk'? Observe जीवपुत्रप्रचायिका, which is a sport of the Western People. Why do we say 'when denoting a sport'? Observe तवपुष्पप्रचायिका 'thy turn for &c,' which is formed by पुच् (III. 3. 111) and denotes 'rotation or turn'.

अणि नियुक्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणि; नियुक्ते, (आशुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्तउत्तरपेत् नियुक्तवाच्चिनि समासे पूर्वपदमाशुदात्तं भवति ॥

75. A compound, the second member of which is a word ending in 'the Krit-affix अण्, and which denotes a functionary, gets the acute on the first syllable.

Thus छैत्रधारः, तैर्णीधारः, कैमण्डलुप्राहः, धैर्ङ्गासधारः ॥ Why do we say when meaning 'a functionary'? Observe काण्डलावः, शालावः ॥

शिल्पिनि चाकृञ्जः ॥ ७६ ॥ शिल्पिनि, च, अकृञ्जः, (पूर्वपदम् आशुदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शिल्पिवाच्चिनि समासे अणन्तउत्तरपेत् पूर्वपदमाशुदात्तं भवति स चेत्पृष्ठं कृञ्जो न भवति ॥

76. And when such a compound ending in अण् affix denotes the name of a professional man, but not when the second term is कार (derived from कृञ्), the acute is on the first syllable of the first word.

Here also the second term ends in अण् affix. Thus तैन्तुवायः, तुंत्रवायः, वैलवायः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a work-man or professional person'? Observe काण्डलावैः, शालावैः ॥ Why do we say 'but not when the affix अण् comes after कृ'? Observe कुम्भकारैः, अयस्कारैः ॥

संज्ञायां च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, च, (पूर्वपदम् आशुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये अणन्तउत्तरपेत् अकृञ्जः पूर्वपदमाशुदात्तं भवति ॥

77. Also when such an upapada compound ending in अण् affix denotes a Name, the acute falls on the first syllable : but not when the second term is कार ॥

Thus तैन्तुवायः 'a kind of insect, spider'. वैलवायः 'the hill Vālavāya'. But not so अण् with कृ ; as रथकारैः 'the name of a Brāhmaṇa caste'.

गोतान्तियवं पाले ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो, तान्ति, यवम्, पाले, (आशुदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गो तान्ति यवं इत्येतानि पूर्वपदसनि पालशब्दउत्तरपेत् आशुदात्तानि भवति ॥

78. The words गो, तन्ति and यत्र get the acute on the first syllable when followed by पाल ॥

Thus गोपालः, तन्तिपालः, यैवपालः ॥ The word तन्ति is the rope with which calves are tied. (तनु विस्तारे + न्तिश्). This applies to words not denoting a functionary, which would be governed by VI. 2. 75. Why do we say गो &c ? Observe वस्तपालः ॥ Why do we say 'followed by पाल' ? Observe गोरक्षः ॥

गिनि ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गिनि, (पूर्वपदम् आशुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गिनन्तउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमाशुदात्तं भवति ॥

79. A compound ending in the Krit-affix गिनि (इन्) has the acute on the first syllable of the first member.

Thus उष्णहारिन्, फौलहारिन्, वैर्णहारिन् ॥

उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानम्, शब्दार्थ, प्रकृतौ, एव,
(आशुदात्तत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानवाचि पूर्वपदं शब्दार्थं प्रकृतावेव गिनन्तउत्तरपदमाशुदात्तं भवति ॥

80. When the first member of a compound expresses that with which resemblance is denoted, then it has acute on the first syllable, before a word formed by गिनि affix, only then, when such latter word is a radical without any preposition, and means 'giving out a definite sound like so and so'.

The word उपमान means the object with which something is likened : शब्दार्थ means 'expressing a sound' ; प्रकृति means 'root, without any preposition'. Thus उष्ट्रक्रोशिन्, धौवाङ्कशगविन्, खरनारिन् ॥ The word उपमान shows the scope of this sūtra as distinguished from the last. So that, when the first term is an उपमान word, the preceding sūtra will not apply, though the second member may be a गिनि formed word. When the second term is not a word denoting sound, the rule will not apply. As वृकवज्ज्ञेन्, वृकप्रेक्षेन् which retain kṛit accent (VI. 2. 130) Why do we say 'a radical word without any preposition' ? Observe गद्भादारिन्, कौकिलभिद्याहारिन् ॥ Here the second terms radically (i. e. chārin and hārin) do not denote sounds, but it is with the help of the Prepositions उत् and अभि, वि and आ that they mean sound. The force of एव is that the उपमान words are restricted. Such words get acute on the first syllable only then, when the second member is a radical sound name. According to Patanjali, the first syllable gets acute, whether it denotes उपमान or not, when the second word is a radical denoting sound. (शब्दार्थं प्रकृतौ उपमानं चानुपमानं चाशुदात्तमिष्यते) ॥ As पुष्कलजलिपन्, for had एव not been used, the sūtra would have run

thus: उपमानं शब्दर्थप्रकृतौ and would mean:—"If the second member is a sound denoting radical word, then the upamâna first member and no other will get the acute". But this is not what is intended : because when the second member is a sound-denoting radical, the first member will get the acute, whether it is upamâna word or not. The word एव therefore restricts upamâna; i. e. a first member denoting उपमानं will get the accent then only, when the second term is a sound-denoting radical. If the second term is not a sound denoting radical, the first term denoting upamâna will not get the accent. The compounding takes place by III. 2. 79.

युक्तारोह्यादयश्च ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः, च (आद्युदात्ताः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ युक्तारोह्यादयः समासा आद्युदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

81. The compounds. युक्तारोहिन् &c, have acute on the first syllable.

Thus १ युक्तारोही, २ आगतरोही, ३ आगतयोधी, ४ आगतवज्ची, ५ आगतनर्शी, ६ आगतनन्दी, ७ आगतप्रहरी ॥ These are formed by णिनि affix, and are illustrations of Rule VI. 2. 79. Some say, these declare a restrictive rule with regard to the first and second member of these terms. Thus रोहिन् &c must be preceded by युक्त, &c and युक्त &c followed by रोहिन् &c to make this rule VI. 2. 79 applicable. Thus वृक्षारोहिन्, though ending in णिनि does not take acute on the first, so युक्ताध्यायैन् ॥ ८ आगतमस्त्या or 'स्त्य, ९ क्षीरहोता, १० भैरिनीभर्ता ॥ The last two are Genitive compounds under Rule II. 2. 9. ११ आमगोधुक, १२ अभ्यत्रिरात्रः, १३ गर्गत्रिरात्रः, १४ व्युष्टत्रिरात्रः, १५ शनपादः (गणपादः), १६ समपादः ॥ All these are Genitive compounds. १७ एकशितिपात्=एकःशितिःपाद॑स्त्य ॥ This is a Bahuvrîhi of three terms. The word एकशितिः is a Taddhitârtha Samâsa (II. 1. 51), and being a Tatpurusha, required acute on the final, as the Tatpurusha accent is stronger. This declares acute on the first. Moreover by VI. 2. 29, this word एकशितिः would have acute on the first, as it is a Dvigu ending in a simple vowel. But the very fact that this word is enumerated here, shows that other Dvigu compounds in शिति, are not governed by VI. 2. 29, therefore एकशितिपाद् has acute on ति ॥ The enumeration of the एकशितिपात् further proves by implication that the (एकशितिपात् स्वरवचनं ह्यापक निमित्तस्वरबलीयस्त्वस्य) accent for the application of which a case is present is stronger. (See Mahâbhâshya II. 1. 1.) The class of compounds known as पादेसमित &c, (II. 1. 48) also belong to this class.

१ युक्तारोही, २ आगतरोही, ३ आगतयोधी, ४ आगतवज्ची, ५ आगतनर्शी (आगतनर्शी), ६ आगतप्रहरी, ७ आगतमस्त्यः (आगतमस्त्या), ८ क्षीरहोता, ९ भैरिनीभर्ता, १० आमगोधुक, ११ अभ्यत्रिरात्रः, १२ गर्गत्रिरात्रः, १३ व्युष्टत्रिरात्रः, १४ गणपादः (शणपादः), १५ एकशितिपात्, १६ पादेसमितादयश्च (पादे-समितादयश्च), १७ समपादः ॥

दीर्घकाशतुष्प्राष्ट्रवटं जे ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घ, काश, तुष, भ्राष्ट, वटम, जे, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ हीर्घान्तं पूर्वपदं काश तुष भ्राष्ट वट इत्येतानि च जडतरपदे आद्युदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

82. When the first member is a word ending in a long vowel, or is काश्, तुष्, भ्राष्ट् or वट्, and is followed by ज्, the acute falls on the first syllable..

Thus कृदीजः, हैमीजः, कौशजः, तुर्षजः, भ्रैष्टजः वैद्यजः: These are formed by the affix द् added to जन् (III. 2. 97).

अन्त्यात्पूर्वे बहूच्चः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, बहूच्चः (उडात्तम् जे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जउन्नरपेव बहूच्चः पूर्वपदस्यात्पूर्वमुद्दात्तं भवति ॥

83. In a word consisting of more than two syllables, followed by ज्, the acute falls on the syllable before the last.

Thus उपसैरजः, मन्दैरजः, आ॒मलैकीजः, and वैद्यबाजः (though the last two words have upapadas ending in long vowel, the accent is governed by this sūtra and not the last). Why do we say "a Polysyllabic first member"? Observe इग्धजानि तृणानि ॥

ग्रामेऽनिवसन्तः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामे, अनिवसन्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भामशब्दउन्नरपेव पूर्वपदमाद्युशात्तं भवति न चेन्निवसद्वाचिभवति ॥

84. Before ग्राम, the first syllable of the first member has acute, when thereby inhabitants are not meant.

Thus मैलग्रामः, वैणिग्रामः ॥ Here ग्राम is equal to समूह 'an assembly'. हेव-ग्रामः = हेवस्वामिकः ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning inhabitants'. Observe शाक्षिग्रामः 'a village inhabited by the descendants of Daksha', माहिकग्रामः 'a village inhabited by Māhikas'.

घोषादिषु च ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोषादिषु, च, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घोषादिषु चौन्नरपेषु पूर्वपदमाद्युशात्तं भवति ॥

85. The first member has acute on the first syllable when followed by घोष &c.

Thus हैक्षिग्रोषः, हैक्षिकटः, हैक्षिपत्वलः, हैक्षिवहगी, हैक्षिवहभः, हैक्षिहरः, हैक्षिपङ्कलः, हैक्षिपिण्डः, हैक्षिमाला, हैक्षिरक्षा, हैक्षिशाला, or (रक्षः or शालः), हैक्षिशिल्पी, हैक्षयध्ययः, हैक्षिशास्त्रम्, कुन्दृतृणम्, भौम्यमसुनिः, हैक्षिपुंसा, हैक्षिकूटः ॥

Of the above, those which denote places of habitation, there the first members though denoting inhabitants get the acute accent. Some do not read the anuvritti of अनिवसन्तः in this aphorism, others however read it.

1 घोष, 2 कट (वट), 3 वल्लभ (पदवल्ल), 4 हर, 5 वहरी (बहर), 6 पिङ्कल, 7 पिण्डः, 8 माला, 9 रक्षा (रक्षः), 10 शाला (शालः), 11 कूट, 12 शास्त्रम्, 13 अध्यय, 14 तृण, 15 शिल्पी, 16 मुनि, 17 ग्रेक्षा (ग्रेक्षाङ्कः पुंसा) ॥

छात्यादयः शालायाम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छात्यादयः, शालायाम्, (आद्युदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शालायामुन्नरपेव छात्यादय आद्युशात्ता भवति ॥

86. The words छात्रि &c, get acute on the first syllable when followed by the word शाला ॥

Thus छात्रिशाला, ऐलिशाला, भाष्टिशाला ॥

Where the Tatpurusha compound ending in शाला becomes Neuter, by the option allowed in II. 4. 25 ; there also in the case of these words, the acute falls on the first syllable of the first term ; thus superseding VI. 2. 123 which specifically applies to Neuter Tatpurushas. Thus छात्रिशालम्, ऐलिशालम् ॥

1 छात्रि, 2 ऐलि (ऐलि), 3 भाष्टि, 4 व्याडि, 5 आखण्डि, 6 आटि, 7 गामि (गौमि) ॥

प्रस्थे अवृद्धमकर्यादीनाम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थे, अवृद्धम्, अककर्यादीनाम्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थशब्दउत्तरपदे कर्कर्यादिवर्जितमवृद्धं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति ॥

87. The first member, which has not a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, or which is not कर्की &c, gets the acute on the first syllble before प्रस्थ ॥

Thus हैन्द्रप्रस्थः, कुण्डप्रस्थः, हैदप्रस्थः, सुवणप्रस्थः ॥ But not in शक्षिप्रस्थः, माहिकप्रस्थः which have Vṛiddhi in the first syllable ; nor also in कर्कीप्रस्थः, मधीप्रस्थः &c.

1 कर्की, 2 मधी (मधी), 3 मकी, 4 कर्कन्धु (कर्कन्धु), 5 शमी, 6 करीर, 7 कन्दुक (कटुक), 8 कवल (कुबल ; कूल), 9 बद्री (बदर) ॥

मालादीनां च ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मालादीनाम्, च, (आदिः उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थइति वर्तते । प्रस्थउत्तरपदे मालादीनामादिरुदात्तो भवति ॥

88. The first syllable of माला &c, gets the acute when प्रस्थ follows.

Thus मौलाप्रस्थः, शौलाप्रस्थः ॥ This sūtra applies even though the first syllables are Vṛiddhi vowel. In the words एक and शोणा the letters ए and ओ are treated as Vṛiddhi (I. 1. 75).

1 माला, 2 शाला, 3 शोणा (शोण), 4 द्राक्षा, 5 लाक्षा, 6 क्षामा, 7 काञ्ची, 8 एक, 9 काम, 10 क्षौमा ॥

अमहन्नवं नगरे अनुदीचाम् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, महत्, नवम्, नगरे, अनुदीचाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नगरशब्दउत्तरपदे महन्नवशब्दवर्जितं पूर्वपदमाद्युदात्तं भवति तथेऽर्दीचां न भवात् ॥

89. The first member has acute on the first syllable before the word नगर, but not when it is the word महत् or नव, nor when it refers to a city in the lands of the Northern People.

Thus सुद्धनगरम्, शुण्डनगरम्, विशृणनगरम् ॥ But not in महनगरम् and नवनगरम्. Why do we say "but not of Northern People"? Observe नान्दीनगरम् कान्तीनगरम् ॥

अर्मे चार्वणे दृव्यच्च्यन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्मे, च, अर्वणम्, दृव्यच्, च्यन्, (पूर्वपदम् आद्युदात्तम्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे द्वच् च्यन् पूर्वपदमवर्णान्तशाशुश्रातं भवति ॥

90. A word of two or three syllables ending in अ or आ (with the exception of महा and नव), standing before the word अर्मे has acute on the first syllable.

Thus हैत्तार्मम्, गुर्मार्मम्, कुक्कुटार्मम्, वैयसार्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in अ (long or short)'? Observe वृहर्मम् ॥ Why do we say 'consisting of two or three syllables'? Observe कपिजलार्मम् ॥ The words महा and नव are to be read here also. The rule therefore does not apply to महार्मम् and नवार्मम् ॥

न भूताधिकसंजीवमद्रादमकञ्जलम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अद्यम, कञ्जलम्, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ भूत अधिक संजीव मद्र अद्यमन् कञ्जल इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि, अर्मशब्दउत्तरपदे नाशुश्रातानि भवन्ति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आद्युश्रात्तप्रकरणे दिवोदासादीनां छन्दस्थुपसंख्यानम् ॥

91. The following words do not get acute on the first syllable, when standing before 'arma', viz.: भूत, अधिक, संजीव, मद्र, अद्यमन् and कञ्जल ॥

Thus भूतार्मम्, अधिकार्मम्, संजीवार्मम्, मद्रार्मम्, अद्यमार्मम्, मद्रादमार्मम् (because the sūtra shows the compounding of those words in madrāśinam) कञ्जलार्मम् ॥ All these compounds have acute on the final by VI. 1. 223.

Vāst—In the Vedas the words दिवोदासाय &c, have acute on the first syllable. Thus दिवोदासाय गायत, वध्याख्याय वाशुषे ॥

अन्तः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अन्त इत्यधिकृतमित उत्तरं यद्यक्ष्यामस्तत्र पूर्वपदस्थानं उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् ॥

92. In the following sūtras upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive, is to be supplied the phrase "the last syllable in a word standing in the Nominative case has the acute".

This is an "adhikāra" aphorism. In the succeeding sūtras, the last syllable of the first member of a compound gets the acute accent. Thus in the next sūtra the word सर्व gets acute on the final. This adhikāra extends upto VI. 2. 110 inclusive.

सर्वे गुणकात्स्त्वर्णे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वम्, गुण, कात्स्त्वर्णे ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्दः पूर्वपदं गुणकात्स्त्वर्णे वर्तमानमन्तोशातं भवति ॥

93. The acute is on the final of the word सर्व standing as first member before an attributive word, in the sense of 'whole, through and through'.

Thus सर्वैश्वेतः, सर्वैकृणः, सर्वैमहात्र ॥ Why do we say सर्वै? Observe परमश्वेतः; here the attribute of श्वेत pervades through and through the object referred; but the accent is not on the final of परम ॥ Why do we say 'attributive word'? Observe सर्वैसौषर्णः, 'golden', सर्वरजतः: 'silvery', which do not denote any attribute in their original state but modification. In fact it is not गुणकात्मन्य here at all, but a विकारकात्मन्य ॥ Why do we use the word 'Kārtsnya or complete pervasion'. Observe सर्वैषां श्वेततरः = सर्वैश्वेतः here the compounding takes place by the elision of the affix तरप् denoting comparison, and as it shows only comparative, not absolute, whiteness, the rule does not apply. Moreover, in this example, the "kārtsnya" is not that of "guṇa" but of "guṇī", not of the 'attribute', but of the 'substance'. *Objection*—How do you form such a compound सर्वैषां श्वेततरः = सर्वैश्वेतः, for it is prohibited by II. 2, 11.? *Ans.* We do it on the strength of the following Vārtika शुणात्तरेण समासो वक्तव्यः, तस्मोपश्च ॥

संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, गिरि, निकाययोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गिरि निकाय इत्येतयोरुत्तरपदयोः पूर्वपदमत्तोशात् भवति ॥

94. The last syllable of the first member before गिरि and निकाय has the acute, when the compound is a Name.

Thus अज्जनैगिरिः, भज्जनैगिरिः, The finals of añjana and bhañjana are lengthened by VI. 3. 117. शापिण्डिनिकायः, मौणिङ्डिनिकायः, चिखिलिनिकायः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe परमगिरिः, ब्राह्मणनिकायः ॥

कुमार्या वयसि ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार्याम्, वयसि, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)।
वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार्यामुत्तरपदे वयसि गम्यमाने पूर्वपदमत्तोशात् भवति ॥

95. The last syllable of the first member gets the acute when the word कुमारी follows, the compound denoting age.

Thus वृद्धकुमारी 'an old maid'. The compounding is by II. 1. 57. जरत्कुमारी ॥ This compound is formed by II. 1. 49 with जरती ॥ The words become masculine by VI. 3. 42 in both examples. Q. The word कुमारी was formed by डीप् by IV. 1. 20 in denoting the prime of youth; how can this word be now applied to denote old age by being coupled with वृद्धा or जरती; it is a contradiction in terms. *Ans*; The word कुमारी has two senses; one denoting "a young maiden" and second "unmarried virgin". It is in the latter sense, that the attribute वृद्धा or जरती is applied. Why do we say "when the compound denotes age"? Observe परमकुमारी ॥

उदके केवले ॥ ९६ ॥ एदानि ॥ उदके, अ, केवले, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकेवलं मिश्रं तद्वाच्चिनि समासे उदकशब्दउत्तरपदे पूर्वपदमत्तोशात् भवति ॥

96. Before the word उदक, when the compound denotes a mixture, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गुडोऽकम् or गुडोऽकम्, तिलोऽकम् or तिलोऽकम् ॥ When we have already made the ड and ल acute by this rule, then the svarita accent may result optionally, by the combination of the acute अ of गुडा and तिला and the subsequent grave उ of उक, by Rule VIII. 2. 6. The word अकेवल means mixture. When mixture is not meant, this rule does not apply. As शीतोऽकम्, उष्णोऽकम् ॥

द्विगौ क्रतौ ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगौ, क्रतौ, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगाद्बुद्धरप्ते क्रतुवाचिनि समासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

97. Before a Dvigu, when the compound denotes a sacrifice, the last syllable of the first member has the acute.

Thus गर्गं त्रिरात्रः, चारकं त्रिरात्रः, कुसुरविन्द्युसमरात्रः = गर्गाणां त्रिरात्रः &c. Why do we say 'before a Dvigu compound'? Observe अतिरात्रैः (गत्रिमातिकान्त इति प्राविसमाप्तः) which being formed by the Samasānta affix अन् (V. 4. 87) has acute on the final (VI. 1, 163). Why do we say 'when denoting a sacrifice'? Observe विष्वसप्रात्रः = विष्वशतस्य विष्वहोमस्य वा सृप्रात्रः ॥

सभायां नपुंसके ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सभायाम्, नपुंसके, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सभाशब्दउत्तरप्ते नपुंसकलिङ्गसमासे पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

98. Before the word सभा when it is exhibited as Neuter, the first member of the compound gets acute on the last syllable.

Thus गोपालैसभम्, पशुपालैसभम्, खीसभम्, इसीसभम्, गावडालैसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'before सभा'? Observe ब्राह्मणसभम् ॥ Why do we say 'when in the Neuter'? Observe राजसभा, ब्राह्मणसभा ॥ The word सभा becomes Neuter under Rules II. 4. 23-24: therefore when the word सभा does not become Neuter under those rules, then by the maxim of Pratipadokta &c: the accent does not fall on the final of the preceding term as, रमणीयसर्वं, here the word सभा is neuter not by the force of any particular rules, but because the thing designated (अभिधेय) is neuter.

पुरे प्राचाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरे, प्राचाम्, (पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरशब्दउत्तरप्ते प्राचां देष्ये पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

99. Before the word पुर, when the compound denotes a city of the Eastern People, the final of the first member has the acute.

Thus ललाटपुरम्, कांचीपुरम्, शिवदत्तपुरम्, क्राणुपुरम्, नार्मपुरम् ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe शिवपुरम् ॥

अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अरिष्टं, गौड, पूर्वे, च, (पूर्वपदम् अन्तोदात्तम्)
वृत्तिः ॥ अरिष्ट गौड इत्येवं पूर्वे समासे पुरशब्दउत्तरप्ते पूर्वपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

100. When the words अरिष्ट and गौड stand first, the first member has the acute on the final before the word पुर ॥

Thus अरिष्टपुरम्, गौडपुरम् ॥ By the force of the word पुर in the aphorism, we can apply the rule to अरिष्टश्चित्पुरम्, गौडभृत्यपुरम् ॥

न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, हास्तिन, फलक, मार्देयाः, (अन्तोदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हास्तिन फलक मार्देय इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि पुरशब्द उत्तरपेत्रे नान्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

101. But when the words हास्तिन, फलक and मार्देय precede पुर, the acute does not fall on their final.

This is an exception to VI. 2. 59. Thus हास्तिनपुरम्, फलकपुरम्, मार्देयपुरम् ॥ The son of शुदृ is मार्देय formed by ढक्, the word belonging to Subhrādi class. The ज is elided by VI. 4. 147.

कुसूलकृपकुम्भशालं बिले ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसूल, कृप, कुम्भ, शालम्, बिले ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कुसूल कृप कुम्भ शाला इत्येतानि पूर्वपदानि बिलशब्दउत्तरपेत्रे इन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

102. The words कुसूल, कृप, कुम्भ and शाला have the acute on the last syllable before the word बिल ॥

Thus कुसूलैबिलम्, कृपैबिलम्, कुम्भैबिलम्, शालैबिलम् ॥ But not so here सर्व-बिलम् ॥ Why do we say 'before बिल'? Observe कुसूलश्चासी ॥

दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्शब्दाः, ग्रामज-
नपदाख्यान, चानराटेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्शब्दाः पूर्वपदानि अन्तोदात्तानि भवन्ति ग्रामजनपदाख्यानवाचिष्ठुत्तरपेत्रे चानराटशब्दे च ॥

103. Words expressing direction (in space or time) have acute on the last syllable, when followed by a word denoting a village, or a country or a narrative, and before the word चानराट ॥

Thus पूर्वैपुकामशासी, अपरैपुकामशासी or पूर्वै and अपरै (VIII. 2. 6). The compounding takes place by II. 1. 50. पूर्वैकृष्णभृत्यिका, अपरैकृष्णभृत्यिका ॥ Country name—पूर्वैपञ्चालाः, अपरैपञ्चालाः ॥ These are Karmadbhārata compounds (II. 1. 58). Story name:—पूर्वैधिरामम् or पूर्वा, पूर्वधिरामात्, पूर्वैधिरामकम्, अपरैधिरामात् ॥ So also पूर्वैचानराटम्, अपरै चानराटम् ॥ The employment of the term शब्द in the aphorism shows that time-denoting दिक् words as in पूर्वयायात् should also be included. The word भाधिरामम् is derived from भाधिराममधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः (IV. 3. 87).

आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनः, च, अन्ते-
धासिनि, (अन्तोदात्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्योपसर्जनान्तेवासिनिविक्षब्दा अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

104. The direction denoting words have acute on the final, before the names of scholars, when such names are derived from those of their teachers.

Thus पूर्वपाणिनीयाः, अपर्यपाणिनीयाः, पूर्वकाशकृत्त्वाः, अपरकाशकृत्त्वाः ॥ Compare VI. 2. 36 Why do we say 'when derived from the names of their Teachers'? Observe पूर्वशिष्याः ॥ Why do we say 'Scholar-names'? Observe पूर्वपाणिनीयं शास्त्रम् ॥ (पाणिनीयं शास्त्रं पूर्वं चिरन्तनम्) ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर-पद-वृद्धौ, सर्वम् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदस्यथाधिकृत्य या विहिती वृद्धिस्तद्युच्युतरपदे सर्वशब्दोऽविक्षणश्चान्तोशान्ता भवन्ति ॥

105. Words denoting direction and the word सर्वे have acute on the final, before a word which takes Vṛiddhi in the first syllable of the second term by VII. 3. 12 and 13.

By the sūtra उत्तरपदस्य VII. 3. 10. 12, the Vṛiddhi of the Uttarapada is ordained when the Taddhita affixes having ज्, ण् or क् follow, the Purvapada being शु, सर्व and अर्थ ॥ The word उत्तरपदवृद्धिः therefore, means that word which takes Vṛiddhi, under the rule relating to uttarapada, i. e. under rule VII. 3. 12 and 13. Thus पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, सर्वपाञ्चालकः ॥ These are formed by शु affix (IV. 2. 125). Why do we say "which takes Vṛiddhi in the second term?" Had the word उत्तरपद not been used, then the sūtra would have run thus वृद्धौ सर्वं च, and would have applied to cases like सर्वमासः, सर्वकारकः where मासः and कारकः are Vṛiddha words not by virtue of VII. 3. 12.

वहुव्रीही विश्वं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहुव्रीही, विश्वम्, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वहुव्रीही समासे विश्वशब्दः पूर्वपदे संज्ञायां विषये इन्तोशान्तं भवति ॥

106. The word विश्व has acute on the final, being first member in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is a Name.

Thus विश्वेऽवः, विश्वेयशाः, विश्वेमहान् ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first member in a Bahuvrīhi would have retained its original accent. Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi compound? Observe विश्वे च देवाः = विश्व-देवाः ॥ Why do we say 'when अ name'? Observe विश्वेऽवा अस्य = विश्वेऽवः ॥ But विश्वामित्रैः and विश्वाजिनैः have acute on the final, as they are governed by the subsequent rule VI. 2. 165 which supersedes this. The word Bahuvrīhi governs the succeeding sūtras upto VI. 2. 120 inclusive. The word विश्व is originally acute on the first, as it is formed by the affix वृत् added to विश् ॥ This rule has unrestricted scope in विश्वेऽवः, विश्वेयशाः and rule VI. 2. 165 has unrestricted scope in विश्वामित्रैः, विश्वाजिनैः ॥ But in विश्वामित्रैः and विश्वाजिनैः there is a conflict, as both these rules would apply, therefore by the maxim of vipratischedha, VI. 2. 165 supersedes this,

उदराश्वेषुषु ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदर, अश्व, इषु षु ।
वृत्तिः ॥ उदर अश्व इषु इत्येतेषु चरपेषु बहुत्रीहौ समासे संज्ञाया विषये पूर्वप्रसन्नोदात्तं भवति ॥

107. The first member in a Bahuvrîhi, before the words उदर, अश्व and इषु, gets acute on the final syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

Thus वृक्षैदरः, दोमौदरः, हर्यशः, यौवनाशः, सुवर्णपुरुषेषुः and मैहेषुः ॥ This sūtra is also an exception to VI. 2. 1 by which the first term would have retained its original accent. The word वृक्ष has acute on the first by Phit II. 7. The word हैम् is formed by मनिर् affix (Uṇ IV. 145) and is first acute; हैरि is also first acute as formed by इन् (Uṇ IV. 118). The word यौवन् if considered as an underived primitive, has acute on the first by Phit II. 19. If it be considered as derived from युवन् with the affix अन् then it is already end-acute and would retain its accent even by VI. 2. 1. The first Bahuvrîhi word सुवर्ण has acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, the second Bahuvrîhi compound सुवर्णपुरुषः has acute on ञ by VI. 2. 1, the third Bahuvrîhi with इषु gets accent on षु ॥ The word महत् is end-acute by V. 2. 38. Its mention here appears redundant.

क्षेपे ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेपे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेपे गम्यमाने उदरादिषु चरपेषु बहुत्रीहौ समासे संज्ञायां विषये पूर्वप्रसन्नोदात्तं भवति ॥

108. A word before उदर, अश्व and इषु in a Bahuvrîhi gets acute on the final, when reproach is meant.

Thus कुण्डोदरः, घोर्गोदरः, कटुकाशः, स्यन्तितौशः, अनियोतैषुः, चलाचेतैषुः ॥ The word कुण्ड has acute on the first as it is a Neuter name (Phit II. 3), and it would have retained this accent in the Bahuvrîhi by VI. 2. 1. but for this sūtra. The word घट is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134) and has acute on the final, and so it would have retained this accent by VI. 2. 1. even without this sūtra. The word कृतुक being formed by कर् (V. 3. 75) has acute on the first. स्यन्ति is formed by the Nishtâ affix क्त ॥ The word अनियोत being an avyayibhâva, the first member would have retained its original accent. In this and the last sūtra, all the acutes may optionally be changed into svarita by VIII. 2. 6. But अनुरूपः and मूर्तैः have acute on the final by VI. 2. 172, which being a subsequent sūtra, supersedes this present, so far as अन् and षु are concerned.'

नदी बन्धुनि ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नदी, बन्धुनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुत्रीहौ समासे भन्धुन्युत्तरपेषे नद्यन्तं पूर्वप्रसन्नोदात्तं भवति ॥

109. In a Bahuvrîhi compound having the word अन्यु as its second member, the first member ending in the Feminine affix ई (नदी word) has the acute on its final syllable.

Thus गौर्मीबन्धुः, वात्सीबन्धुः ॥ The words गौर्मी and वात्सी are formed by adding ङीप् (IV. 1. 16) to गार्भ and वात्स ending in यम् (IV. 1. 105), and therefore, they are first acute. By VI. 2. 1 this accent would have been retained, but for the present sūtra. Why 'do we say "a Nādi (Feminine in ई) word"? Observe ब्रह्मबन्धुः, the word ब्रह्म has acute on the first syllable as it is formed by मनिन् (Uṇ IV. 146) and it retains that accent (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say "before बन्धु"? Observe गौर्मीप्रियः ॥

निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपसर्ग-पूर्वम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुत्रीहौ समासे निष्ठान्तसुपसर्गपूर्वे पूर्वप्रसन्न्यतरस्यामन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

110. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, a Participle in क्त preceded by a preposition, standing as the first member of the compound, has optionally acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रधौतमुखः or प्रधौतमुखः (VI. 2. 169); or प्रैयौतमुखः (VI. 2. 49 and 1) प्रक्षालित्तपादः or प्रक्षालित्तपादः ॥ When the word मुख means (mouth) then by VI. 2. 167 which is an optional rule, the accent falls on the last syllable खः ॥ When the other alternative is taken or when it does not mean (mouth) then by VI. 2. 49 the acute falls on प्र. which accent is retained (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say "a Nishṭhā"? Observe प्रसवकमुखः which is acute in the middle by the kṛit accent being retained after प्र (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'preceded by a preposition'? Observe शुक्रमुखर् which has acute on the first by VI. 1. 206.

उत्तरपदादिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तर, पदादिः, (उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदादिरत्येतद्पिकृतम् । यदित उर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्याम उत्तरपदस्यादिरुचात्तां मवतीत्येवं तद्वित्तिष्यम् ॥

111. In the following sūtras, upto VI. 2. 136 inclusive, should always be supplied the phrase "the first syllable of the second member has the acute".

This is an alhikāra aphorism and the word उत्तरर् exerts its influence upto the end of the chapter, while the word आदि has scope upto VI. 2. 187 exclusive.

कर्णो चर्णलक्षणात् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्णः, चर्ण, लक्षणात्, (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ बहुत्रीहौ समासे चर्णवाचिनो लक्षणगच्छ कर्णशब्दउत्तरप्रसमाद्युशात्तं भवति ॥

112. In a Bahuvrīhi compound, the word कर्ण standing as second member, has acute on the first syllable, when it is preceded by a word denoting color or mark.

Thus with color we have शुक्रकर्णः, कृष्णकर्णः, and with mark-name, we have शाश्वाकर्णं शाइकर्णः, the lengthening of शाश्व and शाइ takes place by VI. 3. 115.

The marks of 'scythe', 'arrow' &c, are made on the ears of cattle to mark and distinguish them. It is such a 'mark' which is meant here, therefore, the rule does not apply to स्थूलकर्णः ॥ Why do we say कण ? Observe श्वतपादः, कृटशृङ्खः here श्वत being formed by अन् (II. 1. 134) is end acute, and कृट being formed by क (III. 1. 135) is also end-acute and these accents are retained in the compound. Why do we say "when preceded by a word denoting color or mark"? Observe शोभनपादः where शोभन being formed by युच् (III. 2. 149) is end-acute and this accent is retained (VI. 2. 1).

संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, औपम्ययोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामैपम्ये च यो बहुत्रीहिर्वर्तते तत्र कर्गशब्द उत्तरप्रसाद्युतात् भवति संज्ञायाम् ॥

113. In a Bahuvrīhi the second member कर्ण has acute on the first syllable, when the compound denotes a Name or a Resemblance.

Thus कुञ्चिकर्णः, मणिकर्णः, are Names: गोकर्णः, खरकर्णः denote resemblance i. e. "persons having ears like a cow or an ass".

कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजड्घं च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा, जंघम्, च, (आद्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्ठ पृष्ठ ग्रीवा जड्घा इत्येतानि उत्तरप्रशानि बहुत्रीही समासे संज्ञौपम्ययोराद्युतानि भवन्ति ॥

114. In a Bahuvrīhi expressing a Name or comparison, the second members कण्ठ, पृष्ठ, ग्रीवा and जड्घा have acute on the first syllable.

Thus Name: शितिकण्ठः, नीलकण्ठः ॥ Comparison खरकण्ठः, उद्धकण्ठः ॥ Name काञ्छपृष्ठः, नाकपृष्ठः ॥ Resemblance गोपृष्ठ, अजपृष्ठः ॥ Name सुधीवः, नीलधीवः, दशधीवः ॥ Resemblance गोजड्घः, अश्वजड्घः, एर्षीजड्घः ॥

The sūtra कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजंघः is in Neuter gender, and जंघा is shortened as it is a Samāhāra Dvandva. In the case of सुधीवः, the accent would have fallen on the final व by VI. 2. 172, this ordains acute on धी ॥

शृङ्खमवस्थायां च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृङ्खम्, अवस्थयाम्; च (आद्युदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शृङ्खशब्द उत्तरप्रसाद्युतायां संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च बहुत्रीही आकृतात् भवति ॥

115. In a Bahuvrīhi denoting age, (as well as a Name or a Resemblance), the second member शृङ्ख gets acute on the first syllable.

Thus उद्गतशृङ्खः, इंगुलशृङ्खः, अंगुलशृङ्खः ॥ Here the word शृङ्ख denotes the particular age of the cattle at which the horns come out, or become one or two inches long. Name:—कण्ठशृङ्खः; comparison: गोशृङ्खः, मेषशृङ्खः ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'age &c'. Observe स्थूलशृङ्खः ॥

न अः जरमरमित्रमृताः ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न अः, जर, मर, मित्र, मृताः, (आ-
धुदात्ताः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ न उत्तरे जरमरमित्रमृतां बहुत्रीहो समासे आधुदात्ता भवति ॥

116. After a Negative Particle, in a Bahuvrīhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of जर, मर, मित्र and मृत ॥

Thus अजैरः, अमैरः, अमित्रः and अमृतः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Negative Particle ? Observe ब्राह्मणमित्रः ॥ Why do we say "जर &c". Observe अशर्वः when the final gets the acute by VI. 2. 172.

सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, मन्-असी, अ लोम, उषसी ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सोहत्तरमनन्तमसन्तं च बहुत्रीहो समासे आधुदात्ते भवति लोमोषसीवर्जयित्वा ॥

117. After the adjective सु in a Bahuvrīhi, a stem ending in मन् and अस्, with the exception of लोमन् and उषस् has acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुर्कैर्मन्, सुर्थैर्मन्, सुप्रैथिमन्, सुर्येष्व, सुर्येष्व, सुक्षेतम् so also सुर्कैत् and सुर्थैत् from the root संस् and ध्वंस् with the affix क्विप् ॥ The final स् is changed to त् by VIII. 2. 72. But this substitution is considered asiddha for the purposes of accent, and these words are taken as if still ending in अस् ॥ Why do we say 'after सु ?' Observe कृतकर्मन्, कृतयशस् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in मन् and अस् ?' Observe सुराजन् and सुतक्षन् formed by the affix कानिन् (Un. I. 156), and the accent is on श and त, but with सु, the accent is thrown on the final by VI. 2. 172. Why do we say with the exception of लोमन् and उषत् ? Observe सुलोमन् and सुर्वैष (VI. 2. 172). The following maxim applies here : अनिनस्मन् यथान्वर्यवता आनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोगजयन्ति "whenever अन्, or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in Grammar, denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there (अन्, इन्, अस् and मन्) represent these combinations of letters, both in so far as they possess and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning". Therefore the मन् and अस् void of meaning are also included here. Thus धर्मन् is formed by मन् (Un. I. 140), but कर्मन् is formed by मनिन् (Un. IV. 145), and प्रथिमन् is formed by इमनिन् affix (V. 1. 122) in which मन् is only a part. Similarly यशस् is formed by अमुन् (Un. IV. 191), and so also क्षोतम् (Un. IV. 202); but in सुर्धवैष् (सुर्धवैष् from ध्वंस् with the affix क्विप् III. 2. 76) the rule applies also, though अस् is here part of the root. But when the samāsānta affix कर् is added (V. 4. 154), then the accent falls on the syllable immediately preceding कर्, for there the subsequent Rule VI. 2. 173 supersedes the present rule: thus सुकर्मकः, सुक्षेतस्कः ॥

क्रत्वादयश्च ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रत्वादयः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रत्वादयः सोहत्तरे बहुत्रीहो समासे आधुदात्ता भवति ।

118. After सु in a Bahuvrîhi, the acute falls on the first syllable of क्रतु &c.

Thus सुक्रतुः, सुहृशीकः, सुपूर्णतिः, सुहृव्यः, सुभैगः, सुपैतीकः ॥

आद्युदात्तं द्रवयच्छन्दसि ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्युदात्तम्, द्रवन्, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तं द्वज्ञ उत्तरपदं बहुव्रीहौ समासे सोरुत्तरं तदाद्युदात्तमेव भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

119. In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, a word of two syllables with acute on the first syllable, when preceded by सु, gets acute on the first syllable.

In other words, such a word retains its accent. Thus:—स्वश्वसिन्दुः: सुरथा सुवासा (Rig Veda X. 76. 8). Here हृशः and सुरथः have acute on श and र, which they had originally also, for अश् and एथ are formed by क्रूर् (Uṇ I. 151) and क्रथन् (Uṇ II. 2) respectively and have the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197). Why do we say 'having acute on the first syllable'? Observe या सुवासुः स्वश्वगुरुः (Rig II. 32. 7). Here वाहु has acute on the final (Uṇ I. 27 formed by उ affix and has the accent of the affix III. 1. 3). Why do we say 'having two syllables'? Observe सुयुरस्त्, स्वाइरण्यः ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 172.

वीरवीर्यैच ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वीर, वीर्यै, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वीर वीर्य इत्येतां च शब्दौ सोरुत्तरौ बहुव्रीहौ समासे छन्दसि विषये आद्युदात्तौ भवतः ।

120. In a Bahuvrîhi compound in the Chhandas, after सु, the words वीर and वीर्य have acute on the first syllable.

Thus सुवीरेण ते, सुवीरस्ते जनिता (Rig IV. 17. 4) सुवीर्यैस्वदव्यंस् (Rig VIII. 13 36) where सुवीर्यै has acute on वी ॥ So also सुवीर्यैस्वय पत्ययः स्याम ॥ The word वीर्यै is formed by यत् affix and by VI. 1. 213, it would have acute on the first. But its enumeration in this sūtra shows that Rule VI. 1. 213 does not apply to वीर्यै ॥ The word वीर्यै has svarita on the final in the Chhandas, by Phit IV. 9. In the secular literature it is अद्युदात्ता.

कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसमव्ययीभावे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष, समम्, अव्ययीभावे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल तीर तूल मूल शाला अक्ष सम इत्येतानि उत्तरपदानि अव्ययीभावत्तासाम् आद्युदात्तानि भवति ॥

121. In an Avyayîbhâva compound, the following second terms have acute on their first syllable : कूल, तीर, तूल, मूल, शाला, अक्ष and सम ॥

Thus परिकूलम्, उपकूलम्, परितीरम्, उपतीरम्, परितूलम्, उपतूलम्, परिमूलम्, उपमूलम्, परिशालम्, उपशालम्, उपौक्षम्, पर्यक्षम्, सुष्वेम्, विष्वेम्, निष्वेम् and दुष्वेम् ॥ These last four are to be found in Tishthadgu class of compounds (II. 1. 17). Why do we say 'कूल &c'? Observe उपकूलम् ॥ Why do we say "in an Avyayîbhâva

compound?" Observe परमकूलम्, उत्तमकूलम् ॥ After the prepositions परि, प्रति, उप and अप्, the words कूल &c would have become accentless by VI. 2. 33, the present sūtra supersedes VI. 2. 33, and we have accent on कूल &c and not on the Prepositions.

कंसमन्थशूर्पपाच्यकाण्ड द्विवग्नौ ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाच्य, काण्डम्, द्विवग्नौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कंस मन्थ शूर्प पाच्य काण्ड इत्येतानुत्तरपदानि द्विग्नौ समासआयुशात्तानि भवति ॥

122. In a Dvigu Compound the following second members get acute on their first syllable :—कंस, मन्थ, शूर्प, पाच्य and काण्ड ॥

Thus द्विकंसः, (शाम्यां कंसाम्यां कीतः the affix इडन् V. 1. 25 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिकंसः, द्विमन्थः, (the affix उक् V. 1. 19 is elided by V. 1. 28) त्रिमन्थः, द्विशूर्पः, (the affix अभ् V. 1. 26 is elided) त्रिशूर्पः, द्विपाच्यः, त्रिपाच्यः, द्विकाण्डः, त्रिकाण्डः ॥ Why do we say in a Dvigu? Observe परमकंसः, उत्तमकंसः ॥

तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषे, शालायाम्, नपुंसके ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ शालाशब्दान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे उत्तरपदमायुशात्ते भवति ॥

123. The word शाला at the end of a Tatpurusha compound when exhibited in the Neuter has acute on the first syllable.

Thus ब्राह्मणशालम्, क्षत्रियशालम् ॥ The compound becomes Neuter by II. 4. 25. Why do we say "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe द्वैशालं ब्राह्मणकूलम् which is a Bahuvrīhi compound and therefore first member retains its accent VI. 2. 1, and as the first member is a Nishṭhā word, it has acute on the final. Why do we say "the word शाला?" Observe ब्राह्मणसेनम् ॥ Why do we say "in the Neuter"? Observe ब्राह्मणशाला ॥ Compare VI. 2. 86.

कन्था च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे कृथाशब्द उत्तरपदमायुशात्ते भवति ॥

124. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the acute falls on the first syllable of the second member.

Thus सौशमिकन्थम्, आहूकैन्थम्, च्यूकन्थम् ॥ The word सौशमिः denotes the descendant of शुशमः (शोभनः शांमो यस्य) आहूर् is formed by the preposition आ with the verb हूँ and the affix क (III. 1. 136) The compound is Neuter by II. 4. 20. These are Genitive compounds. When the word is not Neuter we have शक्तिकन्था ॥

आदिश्चिहणादीनाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, चिहणादीनाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थान्ते तत्पुरुषे समासे नपुंसकलिङ्गे चिहणादीनामादिश्चात्तो भवति ॥

125. In a Neuter Tatpurusha ending in कन्था, the first syllable of चिहण &c have the acute.

As चिह्नकन्थम्, मैडरकन्थम्, मैदुकन्थम् ॥ The repetition of the word भावि in this sūtra, though its anuvritti was present, indicates that the first syllable of the *first member* gets the acute. The word चिह्न is derived from the root चिन्नाति with क्विप् which gives चित् and हन is formed by adding अन् (III. i. 134) to हन् ॥ चित् + हन = चिह्न the elision of त् is irregular.

चेलखेटकटुक्काण्डं गर्हयाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेल, खेट, कटुक, काण्डम्, गर्हयाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चेल खेट कटुक काण्ड इत्येतान्युच्चरपशानि तत्पुरुषे समासे गर्हयां गम्यमानायामाद्युशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

126. The words चेल, खेट, कटुक and काण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha have acute on the first syllable, when a reproach is meant.

Thus पुत्रचेलम्, भार्याचेलम्, उपानत्खेटम्, नगरखेटम्, (खेट इति तृणनाम, तद्वद् दुर्बला उपानत्) शधिकैटकम् (कटुकमस्वादु) उत्पित्कैटकम्, भूतकौण्डम् (काण्डमीति शरनाम, तथथा सत्वभी-डाकर मेवं भूतमपि) प्रजाकौण्डम् ॥ The reproach is denoted of the sons &c by comparing them to चेल &c. The analysis will be पुत्रोभलमित्र i. e. चलवत् तुच्छत् and the compounding takes place under II. i. 56 : the Vyagrādi class being an akṛti-gaṇa. When reproach is not meant, we have परमचेलम् ॥

चीरमुपमानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चीरम्, उपमानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चीरमुच्चरपशुपमानवाच्चि तत्पुरुषे समासे जाग्युशात्तानि भवति ॥

127. The word चीर, at the end of a Tatpurusha, has acute on the first syllable, when something is compared with it.

Thus वस्त्रम् चीरमित्र = वस्त्रचीरम्, पटचीरम्, कम्बलचीरम् ॥ Why do we say 'when comparison is meant ?' Observe परमचीरम् ॥

पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पललं, सूप, शाकम्, मिश्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलल सूप शाक इत्येतान्युच्चरपशानि मिश्रवाच्चानि तत्पुरुषे समासे जाग्युशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

128. In a Tatpurusha ending in पलल, सूप and शाक the acute falls on the first syllable of these, when the compound denotes a food mixed or seasoned with something.

Thus शुद्धपैलम्, घृतपैलम्, घृतसूपः, मूलकसूपः, घृतशौकम्, मुदशौकम् = शुद्धेन मिश्रे पललं &c. The compounding takes place by II. i. 35. Why do we say 'when meaning mixed or seasoned ?' Observe परमपललम् ॥

कूलसूदस्थलकर्षः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कूल, सूद, स्थल, कर्षः, संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कूल सूद स्थल कर्ष इत्येतान्युच्चरपशानि तत्पुरुषे समासे संज्ञायां विषये जाग्युशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

129. The words कूल, सूद, स्थल and कर्ष have acute on their first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha denoting a Name.

Thus वासिकूलम्, आहकिकूलम्, देवसूदम्, भाजीसूदम्, वाण्डायनस्थली, माहकिस्थली, वासि-कर्षः ॥ All these are names of villages. The feminine of स्थल is taken here, formed by डीष् (IV. 1. 42). When not a name we have परमकूलः ॥

अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, कर्मधारये, राज्यम् (आदुदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारयवर्जिते तत्पुरुषे समासे राज्यामत्येतदुच्चरपदमाद्युशानं भवति ॥

130. The word राज्यम् has acute on the first syllable, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, which is not a Karmadhâraya.

Thus ब्राह्मणराज्यम्, थात्रियराज्यम् ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमराज्यम् ॥ The accent taught in VI. 2. 126 to 130 is superseded by the accent of the Indeclinable taught in VI. 2. 2, though that rule stands first and this subsequent. As कुञ्जेलम्, कुराज्यम् ॥

घर्याद्यश्च ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ घर्याद्यः, च, (आदुदातानि)

वृत्तिः ॥ घर्य इत्येवमाशिन्युच्चरपदानि अकर्मधारये तत्पुरुषे समासे भाद्युशानानि भवति ॥

131. At the end of a non-Karmadhâraya Tatpurusha compound, the words घर्य &c have acute on the first syllable.

Thus वासुदेवघर्यः, वासुदेवपैश्यः, अर्जुनघर्यः, अर्जुनपैश्यः ॥ In a Karmadhâraya we have परमघर्यः ॥ The words घर्य &c are no where exhibited as such; the primitive words वर्ग, पूग, गण &c sub-divisiones of द्विगादि (IV. 3. 54) are here referred to, as ending with यन् affix.

पुत्रः पुस्त्यः ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रः, पुष्यः (आदुदातः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दः पुंशब्देभ्य उच्चरस्तपुरुषं समासे भाद्युशानो भवति ॥

132. The word पुत्र coming after a Masculine noun in a Tatpurusha has acute on the first syllable.

Thus कौनटिपुत्रः, वासकपुत्रः, मादिषपुत्रः ॥ Why do we say 'a पुत्र'? Observe कौनटिमातुलः ॥ Why do we say 'after a masculine word'? Observe गार्गपुत्रः, वास्तीपुत्रः ॥

नाचार्यराजत्विकसंयुक्तशात्याख्येभ्यः ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, आचार्य, राज, ऋत्विक, संयुक्त, शात्याख्येभ्यः, (आदुदातः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आचार्य उपाध्यायः । राजा ईश्वरः । ऋत्विजो यजकाः । संयुक्ताः स्त्रीसंबन्धिनः इयालाद्यः । शात्यो नात्यपि संबन्धिनो वान्धवाः । आचार्याद्याख्येभ्यः पतः पुत्रशब्दो भाद्युशानो भवति ।

133. The word पुत्र has not acute on the first syllable, when preceded by a word which falls under the category of teachers, kings, priests, wife's relations, and agnates and cognates.

The word आचार्य means 'teacher', राजा 'prince, king', ऋत्विज् 'a sacrificing priest', संयुक्ताः 'relations through the wife's side' as द्याता 'brother-in-law' &c; जाति means 'all kinsmen related through father and mother or blood-relations'. The word आख्या shows that the rule applies to the synonyms of 'teacher' &c, as well as to particular 'teacher' &c. Thus आचार्यपुत्रः, उपाध्यायपुत्रः, शाकादायनकपुत्रः, राजपुत्रः, ईश्वरपुत्रः, नन्दपुत्रः, ऋत्विकपुत्रः, याजकपुत्रः, हातपुत्रः, (VI. 3. 23) संयुक्तपुत्रः, संबन्धपुत्रः, श्यालकपुत्रः, जातिपुत्रः, भ्रातुष्पुत्रः (VI. 3. 23). Here the special accent of पुत्र taught in the last sūtra being prohibited, the accent falls on the last syllable by the general rule VI. I. 2 23.

चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णादीनि, अ, प्राणि, षष्ठ्याः, (आ-
द्युदात्तानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपशादिरिति वर्तते तत्पुरुषेऽति च । चूर्णादीन्युत्तरपशानि अप्राणिवाचिनः षष्ठ्यस्तात्पराणि
तत्पुरुषे समांस आद्युदात्तानि भवत्ति ॥

134. The words चूर्ण &c, in a Tatpurusha compound have acute on the first syllable, when the preceding word ends in a Genitive and does not denote a living being.

Thus मुहूर्चूर्णम्, मसूरचूर्णम्, but मस्त्यचूर्णम् where the first term is a living being, and परमचूर्णम् where it is not Genitive. Another reading of the sūtra is चूर्णादीन्यप्राण्युपग्रहात्, the word उपग्रह being the ancient name of षष्ठी given by old Grammarians.

1 चूर्ण, 2 करिव, 3 करिपि, 4 शाकिन, 5 शाकट, 6 द्राक्षा, 7 तूस्त्, 8 कुन्दुम (कुन्दम), 9 इलप,
10 अमसी, 11 अक्कन (चक्कन चक्कन), 12 चौल ॥

The word चूर्ण is derived from the root चूर्णी द्वाह (Div 50) with the affix न्तः ; करिव and करिपि are formed with the upapada करि and the verbs वा 'to go' and पा 'to protect' respectively, and the affix क (कारिणवाति = करिव) (III. 2. 3); शक्त with the affix इनण् added diversely (Uṇ II. 56); शक्त with अटन् (Uṇ IV. 81) gives शक्ट ; this with अण् (तद्वाति) gives शाक्ट ; द्राक् धराति = द्राक्षा (Prishodarādi) ; तूस् (शब्दे) with न्तः gives तूस्त् the penultimate being lengthened; the word कुन्दु is formed by the affix किवप added to the root दु with the upapada कु (कुन्दुनोति कुत्सतं वा दुनोति) the augment मुम् being added to कु ॥ कुन्दु मिमीते = कुन्दुमः ॥ इल with the affix कपन् gives इलपः, अम with असच् forms अमस, then is added डीष् ; अक्कन is formed by अच् (III. I. 134) added to कन् and reduplication, ओलस्यापत्यं = ओलः ॥

षट् च काण्डादीनि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ षट्, च, काण्डादीनि, (आचुदात्तानि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ षट् पूर्वोक्तानि काण्डादीन्युत्तरपशान अप्राणिषष्ठा आशुशत्तानि भवति ॥

135. The six words काण्ड, चीर, पल्ल, सूप, शाक and कुल of Sûtras VI. 2. 126–129, preceded by a non-living genitive word, have acute on the first syllable.

As इर्भकौण्डम्, शरकौण्डम्; इर्भचीरम्, कुशचीरम् ॥ In the last two examples चीर is not used as a comparision, that case being governed by VI. 2. 127, तिन्येन्नलम्, मूलकशाकैम्, सुहृष्पैः ॥ Here पल्ल, सूप and शाक do not denote mixing, which is governed by VI. 2. 128. नन्दीकूलम्, समुद्रकूलम्, here the compound does not denote a Name, which would be the case under VI. 2. 129. Why these 'six' only? Observe जजसूः ॥

कुण्डं वनम् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुण्डम्, वनम् (आचुदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डशब्देत्र कुण्डसादेयेन वने वर्तते । कुण्डमत्येतदुत्तरपरं वनवाच्चि तत्पुरुषे समासे आशुशत्तं भवति ॥

136. The word कुण्ड at the end of a Tatpurusha compound denoting 'a wood or forest', has acute on the first syllable.

The word कुण्ड here denotes 'a wood' by metaphor. Thus इर्भकूण्डम्, शरकूण्डम् ॥ Why do we say when denoting 'a wood'? Observe शतकूण्डम् ॥ The word कुण्ड means (1) a basin (2) a caste called kundâ. Some say it means 'forest' also primarily and metaphorically. The force here is that of समुद्राय, i. e. शरवणसमुद्रायः = शरकूण्डम् ॥

प्रकृत्या भगालम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, भगालम्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भगालवाच्युत्तरपरं तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

137. The word भगाल at the end of a Tatpurusha, preserves its original accent.

The synonyms of भगाल are also included. As कुम्भीभगालम्, कुम्भीकर्णालम्, कुम्भनीर्दीलम् ॥ The words भगाल &c, have acute on the middle. Phit II. 9. The word प्रकृत्य governs the subsequent sûtras upto VI. 2. 143.

शितेर्मित्यावह्वज् बहुवीहावभसत् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शितेः, नित्य, अवह्वच्, बहुवीहौ, अभसत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शितेशत्तरपरं नित्ये यस्वह्वज् भसच्छह्ववर्जितं बहुवीहौ समासे तप्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

138. After शिति, a word retains in a Bahuvrîhi its original accent, when it is always of not more than two syllables, with the exception of भसद् ॥

Thus शितिपादः, शित्यंसः, शित्यैषः ॥ The word पाद belongs to वृत्तादि class (VI. I. 203) and has acute on the first, and अंसः and भोषः being formed by सत् (Uṇ V. 21) and थू (Uṇ II. 4) affixes, have acute on the first (VI. I. 197). Why do we say 'after शिति'? Observe इर्षनीयपादः which being formed by the affix अनीयत् has acute on the penultimate syllable नी by VI. I. 217 ॥ Why do we say 'always'? Observe शितिकक्तुत्, for though कक्तुत् is here of two syllables, it is an abbreviated form of कक्तु, the final अ being elided in denoting condition of life (V. 4. 146), in compounds other than those denoting 'age', we have शितिकक्तु; hence this word is not such which is *always* of two syllables. The word शिति has acute on the first syllable, by Phit II. 10, and retains this accent in the Bahuvrīhi (VI. 2. 1). Why do we say 'abahvach or not many-syllable'? Observe शितिललाटः ॥ Why do we say in a Bahuvrīhi? Observe शिते: पादः = शितिपादः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of भस्तु'? Observe शितिभस्तु ॥ This sūtra is an exception to VI. 2. 1.

गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति, कारक, उपपदात्, कृत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषश्चिति वर्तते न बहुव्रीहाविति । गतेः कारकादुपपदात् कृतन्तपुत्रपदं तत्पुरुषे समासे प्रकृतिस्वरं भवति ॥

139. In a Tatpurusha, a word ending in a Krit-affix preserves its original accent, when preceded by an In-declinable called Gati (I. 4. 60), or a noun standing in intimate relation to a verb (Kāraka), or any word which gives occasion for compounding (Upapada see III. 1. 92).

The above is according to Professor Bohtlingk. Thus प्रकौरकः, प्रकैरणम्, प्रहौरकः, प्रहैरणम् ॥ The compounding is here by II. 2. 18. With kāraka-word we have :—इष्मवैश्वनः, पलाशशौतनः, इमशुकैल्पनः (III. 3. 117). With upapada words, we have :—ईषत्कर्तः, दुष्कर्तः, सुकर्तः ॥ All these are formed by लित् affixes and the accent is governed by VI. I. 193. i. e. the word व्रश्वन् is formed by न्तुट् (इष्मं प्रवृश्यते येन); so also with शातन् (पलाशानि शात्यत्ते यंन्, स इण्डः); so also with कल्पन (शमशुकल्पते येन स क्षुरादिः) Why do we say "after a Gati, Kāraka, or an Upapada word?" Observe देवदत्तस्यकारकः = देवदत्तस्यकारकः ॥ Here the Genitive in देवदत्त does not express a kāraka relation. The genitive is here a शेष लक्षणा वस्ति denoting a possessor and not a कर्मलक्षणा one: for had it been latter, there would have been no compounding at all, by II. 2. 16. see also II. 3. 65. The word कृत् is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness; for a gati, karaka or upapada could not be followed by any other word than a krit-formed word, if there is to be a samasa. For two sorts of affixes come after a root (dhātu) namely तिङ् and कृत् ॥ A samāsa can take place with krit-formed words, but

not with titianta words. So that without employing कृत् in the sūtra, we could have inferred that कृत् was meant. Therefore, it is said the 'Kṛit' is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness. According to this view we explain the accent in प्रपच्चनितयम्, प्राच्चनितमाम्, by saying that first compounding takes place with प्र and the words पच्चनिर् and पच्चनितम् ending in तरप् and तमप् and then आम्, is added and the accent of the whole word is regulated by आम् by the rule of सांतांशष्ट (see V. 3. 56. and V. 4. 11). According to others, the कृत् is taken in this sūtra, in order to prevent the gati accent applying to verbal compounds in words like प्रैपच्चति देश्यः, or प्रैपच्चति देशीयं (V. 3. 67), or प्रैपच्चतिरूपम् (V. 3. 66). The accent of these will be governed by the rule of the Indeclinable first term retaining its accent.

उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत् ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उभे, वनस्पत्यादिषु, युगपत्, (प्रकृतिस्वरम्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्योत्त वर्तते । वनस्पत्यादिषु समासेषु उभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे युगपत् प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

140. In वनस्पति &c, both members of the compound preserve their original accent simultaneously.

Thus वैनश्चैति, both वन् and पति have acute on the first syllable, and सुट् augment comes by VI. 1. 157. (2) बृहस्पतिः or बृहस्पति = बृहनां पतिः (VI. 1. 157) The word बृहत् is acutely accented on the final, some say it has acute on the first. (3) शच्चार्पतिः (Sachī being formed by छाण्), some make Sachī acute on the first शच्चार्पतिः, by including it in Sarangrava class (IV. 1. 73). (4) तनूनेपात् (tanū being formed by अ Un I. 80 has acute on the final, according to others it has acute on the first and नपात् = na pāti or na palayati with कृप् and has acute on the first). (5) नैराशैतः नरा उत्स्मासीनाः शोसन्ति or नरा एव शोसन्ति (nara is formed by अप् and has acute on the first, Saṅsa is formed by घञ्, the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137). (6) शैनः शैपः = शुन इव शोपाऽस्य is a Bahuvrihi : the Genitive is not elided by (VI. 3. 21. Vārt.), and both have acute on the first. (7) शौण्डामैकां both 'Santla' and 'Marka' being formed by घञ् have acute on the first: the lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. (8) त्रैष्णावरूपै़ी ॥ Triṣṇa has acute on the first, वरूपै़ी has acute on the final. The lengthening here also is by VI. 3. 137. (9) बम्बाविश्ववयसौ ॥ Bamba is finally acute, and viśva by VI. 2. 106 has acute on the final, as viśvavayas is a Bahuvrihi. The lengthening takes place as before by VI. 3. 137. (10) मैर्मत्युः ॥ मर् is formed by विच् affix and मैत्यु has acute on the final. The words governed by this sūtra are those which would not be included in the next two sūtras.

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता, द्वन्द्वे, च ॥
बृत्तिः ॥ देवतावच्चिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्र युगपदुभे पूर्वोत्तरपदे प्रकृतिस्वरे भवतः ॥

141. In a Dvandva compound of names of Divinities, the both members retain their original accent.

Thus इन्द्रासेऽमौ, इन्द्रावैरुष्णौ, इन्द्रार्जुहस्पती ॥ The word इन्द्र has acute on the first (by nipatana), सोऽन् is formed by मूर् (Uṇ I. 140), and has acute on the first (VI. 1. 197), वैरुष्ण is formed by उन्नूर् (Uṇ III. 53) and by VI. 1. 197 has acute on the first. हस्पति has two acutes by VI. 2. 140, and Indra-Brihaspati has three acutes. Why do we say "names of divinities"? Observe पदानि एवं अन्यादेषः ॥ Why do we say 'a Dvandva'? Observe अग्निन्देषः ॥

नोत्तरपदे इन्द्रुदात्तादावपूर्थिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उत्तरपदे, अनुशात्तादौ, अ पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूष, मन्थिषु ॥

इति: ॥ उत्तरपदे इन्द्रुदात्तारौ पृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिवर्जिते देवताइन्द्रे नोमे शुणपत्पक्तिस्वरे भवतः ॥

142. In a Dvandva compound of the names of divinities, both members of the compound simultaneously do not retain their accent, when the first syllable of the second word is anudātta, with the exception of पृथिवी, रुद्र, पूर्ण, and मन्थन् ॥

Thus इन्द्राग्नैः, इन्द्रशार्यैः; the words Agni and Vāyu have acute on the final. The word uttarāpada is repeated in the sūtra, in order that it should be qualified by the word 'anudāttādau', which latter would otherwise have qualified Dvandva. The word "anudattādau" shows the scope of the prohibition and the injunction. Why do we say with the exception of 'prthivi' &c? Observe आवापृथिव्यौ or आवा॒पृथिव्यौ dvyāvā has acute on the first, 'prthivi' being formed by 'nīsh', has acute on the final. सौमारुद्रैः, Rudra is formed by 'rak' affix (Uṇ II. 22.), and has acute on the final. इन्द्रापूषणौ, Pūshan has acute on the end. (Uṇ I. 159) शुक्रामन्थिनौ, the words Śukra and manthin have acute on the final.

अन्तः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, ॥

इति: ॥ अन्त इत्याधिकारो अस्ति ऋर्घ्यमनुकमिष्यामस्तच समासस्योत्तरपदस्यान्त उदात्तो भवतीत्येवं तदेवित्यम् ॥

143. In the following sūtrās up to the end of the chapter, should always be supplied the phrase "the last syllable of the second member has the acute".

The application is given in the next sūtra.

थायधञ्ज्ञकाजवित्रकाणाम् ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अञ्, अप्, इञ्,

काणाम्, (अन्त उदात्तः,) ॥

इति: ॥ थ अथ घञ् क्त अञ् अप् इञ् क इत्येवमन्तानामुत्तरपदशानां गतिकारकोपपशाल्परेषामन्त उदात्तो भवति ॥

144. The last syllable of the second member has the acute, in the verbal nouns ending in थ, अथ, घञ्, क्त, अञ्, अप्, इञ् and क, when preceded by a Gati, a Kāraka or an Upapada (VI. 2. 139).

Thus मुनीर्थः, भवभृष्टः formed by कृथ् affix (U१ II. 2 and 3), and but for this sūtra, by VI. 2. 139 these words would have retained their original accent which was acute on the first. अयः—आवस्थः, उपवस्थः formed by अथ् affix (U१ III. 116). घट्—प्रभैः, काष्ठंभैः, रज्जुभैः ॥ क्तः—कृतावगतैः, Here क्तः has the force of कर्म, and the gati आ would retain its accent (VI. 2. 49) therefore, भागत is first acute: this accent would have been retained when compounded with the kāraka word dūra, but for this sūtra. विशुद्धः आत्पशुद्धः ॥ अच् (III. 3. 56.) :—प्रसवः, प्रजयः, the words सय 'dwelling', and जय 'victory' are acute otherwise on the first (VI. 1. 201, 202). अप्—प्रलवैः, प्रसवैः ॥ इत्र—प्रलविश्चैम्, प्रसविश्चैम् ॥ क—खर्त्तव्यैः: गांवृष्टैः = गां वर्षाति, खर्त्तव्यैम् (III. 2. 5 Vārt) : ब्रह्मैः, प्रहृष्टैः, (क being added by III. 1. 135). The word वृष्ट has acute on the first as it belongs to वृषादि class (VI. 1. 203). When the preceding words are not Gati, Kāraka or Upapada, this rule does not apply: as छुस्तुतं भवता, अतिस्तुतं भवता, where छु and अति being Karmapravachaniya, the words get the accent of the Indeclinable.

सूपमानात् क्तः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शु, उपमानात्, क्तः, ॥
शृतिः ॥ शु इत्येतम्यादुपमानाद्य परं त्वान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

145. The Participle in क्त has acute on the final, when it is preceded by शु or by a word with which the second member is compared.

Thus शुकृतैम्, शुभुत्तैम्, शुर्पीतैम् ॥ With Upamāna words we have—शुकाद-
शुस्तुतैम्, शाश्वतैम्, सिहिविनर्वितैम् ॥ This debars VI. 2. 49 and 48. When शु is not
a Gati, the rule does not apply, as शुस्तुतैम् भवता ॥

संज्ञायामनोचितादीनाम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, अनाचितादीनाम् ॥
शृतिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये गतिकारकोपवशात् त्वान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति आचितादीन्वर्जयित्वा ॥

146. The Participle in 'kta' has acute on the last syllable, when preceded by a Gati, or a Karaka or an Upapada, if the compound denotes a Name, but not in आचित &c.

Thus संसूतौ रामश्चेणः, उपहृतः शाकल्यः, परिजग्नैः कोणिङ्ग्न्यः ॥ This debars VI.
2. 49, धनुषध्वाता नरी, कुडालध्वातम् नगरम्, हस्तिशृदितौ भूमिः ॥ Here VI. 2. 48 is debarred.
Why do we say "when it is not आचित &c" Observe आचितम् &c.

1 आचित, 2 पर्याप्तन, 3 आस्थापित, 4 परिशृहीन, 5 निश्चन, 6 प्रतिपन्न, 7 अपश्लिष्टः, 8
प्रश्लिष्टः, 9 उपहित (उपहत) 10 उपस्थित, 11 संहितावगति (संहिताशब्दो यदा गोरन्यस्य संज्ञा तदन्तोदात्तो
न भवति । यदा तु गोः संज्ञा तदन्तोदात्तं एव ॥)

The word संहिता in the above list does not take acute on the final, when it is the name of anything else than a 'cow'; but when it denotes 'a cow' it has acute on the final.

प्रदृज्जादीनां च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रदृज्जादीनाम्, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
शृतिः ॥ प्रदृज्जादीनां च त्वान्तमुत्तरपदमन्तोदात्तं भवति ॥

147. The words प्रवृद्ध &c. ending in 'kta' have acute on the final.

Thus प्रवृद्धं यानम्, प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, प्रयन्तः सन्तवः, भार्किर्षेऽवहितैः, अवहितौ भोगेषु, खद्वारुदः, कविशस्तः ॥ It is an Akritigāṇa. The words have acute on the final, even when not followed by यान &c, though in the Ganapāṭha they are read along with these words. Some hold it is only in connection with यान &c that these words have acute on the final. This being an Akritigāṇa we have पुनरस्त्वृतं बासोरेण, पुनर्निर्वक्तां रथः &c.

1 प्रवृद्धं यानम्, 2 प्रवृद्धो वृषलः, 3 प्रयुतासूच्यतः or प्रयुक्ताः सन्तवः 4 भार्कर्षे, 5 अवहितो भोगेषु, 6 खद्वारुदः 7 कविशस्तः, भार्कृतिगण.

कारकाद्यत्थुतयोरेवाशिषि ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कारकात्, दत्त, श्रुतयोः, एव,
आशिषि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायामिति वर्तते, न इति च। संज्ञायां विषये आशिषि गम्यमानायां कारकादुन्नरयोर्द्यत्थुतयोरेव
स्फूत्योरन्त उशन्तो भवति ॥

148. The final of Part Participles दत्त and श्रुत alone has acute, in a compound denoting a Name and a benediction, the preceding word being a word standing in close relation to an action (kāraka).

Thus देवा एनरेयामुः = देवरन्तैः, विष्णुरेवं श्रूयाद् = विष्णुभूतैः ॥

Why do we say "of इत्त and श्रूत"? Observe वैष्पालितः (VI. 2. 48), which, though a Name, is not governed by VI. 2. 146, and does not take acute on the final, for the present rule makes a restriction with regard to that rule even. So that where a Participle in न्तः is preceded by a kāraka, and the compound denotes a benediction and a Name, the accent is not on the final, as required by VI. 2. 146, but such a word is governed by VI. 2. 48, unless the Participle be Datta and Sruta, when the present rule applies. The word कारक indicates that the rule will not apply when a gati or upapada precedes. Why do we use 'एव (alone)'? So that the restriction should apply to 'kāraka', and not to 'Datta' and 'Sruta'. For the words 'Datta' and 'Sruta' will have acute on the final even after a nonkāraka word. As संश्रूतैः, विश्रूतैः ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'? The rule will not apply where benediction is not meant. As इवैः खाता = इवखाता ॥ This rule applies to Datta and Sruta after a kāraka-word, only when benediction is meant. It therefore does not apply to देवैवत्त 'the name of Arjuna's conch', as भाइतानश्चिति देवैवत्तः, which is governed by VI. 2. 48.

इत्थंभूतेन कृतमिति च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्थंभूतेन, कृतम्, इति, च, (अ-
म्तोदात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इमं प्रकारमापन्न इत्थंभूतः । इत्थंभूतेन् कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे चः समासो वर्तते तत्र न्तान्नमुन्नपह-
मन्तोदात्तम् भवति ॥

149. The Participle in न्तः has acute on the final, when the compound denotes 'done by one in such a condition'.

The word इत्यभूत means 'being in such a condition'. Thus सुप्रलिपत्तम्, उन्मत्तप्रलिपत्तम्, प्रमत्तगत्तम्, विषमभूतम् as Adjectives and Abstract verbal nouns. This is an exception to VI. 2. 48. When the words प्रलिप्त &c are used to denote Noun of Action (भाव), then by VI. 2. 144 they get of course acute on the final.

अनो भावकर्मवचनः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, भाव, कर्मवचनः, (अन्तोदासम्) ॥ शृण्वति ॥ अन प्रत्ययान्तमुच्चरपरं भाववचनं कर्मवचनं च कारकात्परमन्तोदासं भवति ॥

150. After a kâraka as mentioned in VI. 2. 148, the second member ending in the affix अन, and denoting an action in the Abstract or the object (i. e. having the senses of a Passive Adjective), has acute on the final.

Thus ओद्देशेजने^३ सुखम्, पथपाने^३ सुखम्, अन्दनप्रियुक्तालेपने^३ सुखम् ॥ All these are examples of भाव or Abstract Verbal Nouns. राजभोजनैः शालयः, राजाच्छादननीः वा-सांसि, are examples of कर्मवचन or Passive Adjectives. These are formed by एवृद्ध under III. 3. 116. For the Sûtra III. 3. 116 may be explained by saying that (1) एवृद्ध is applied when the Upapada is in the objective case and bhâva is meant, (2) as well as when object is to be expressed. When the first explanation is taken, the above are examples of Bhâva; when the second explanation is taken, they are examples of Karma. Why do we say "ending in अन"? Observe, इत्तद्वार्यमुश्चित् ॥ Why do we say "when expressing an action in the abstract (bhâva), or an Object (karma)"? Observe उन्मधार्वनम्, here एवृद्ध is added after an Instrumental kâraka (III. 3. 117). Why do we say "after a kâraka"? Observe निरक्षर्णम्, अवलेखनम् ॥ In all the counter-examples, the second members retain their original accent,

मनकिंव्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्, क्ति-म्, व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान, याजकादि, क्रीताः ॥
शृण्वति ॥ मन्त्रते निक्तिन्तं व्याख्यान शयन आसन स्थान इत्येतानि याजकादयः क्रीतशब्दशोऽन्तरप्रशमन्तोदासं भवति ॥

151. The words ending in मन् or क्तिम् affixes, and the words व्याख्यान, शयन, आसन, स्थान and क्रीत as well as याजक &c, have acute on the final, when at the end of a compound, preceded by a kâraka word.

Thus मन्—रथवर्मन्, शकटवर्मन् ॥ क्तिम्—पाणिनिकृतिः, भापिशालिकृतिः ॥ व्याख्यान—व्याख्यानव्याख्यानम्, छन्दोव्याख्यानम् ॥ शयन—राजशयनैम्, ग्राघणशयनैम् ॥ आसन—राजासनैम्, ग्राहणसनैम् ॥ स्थान—गोस्थानैम्, भूमस्थानैम् ॥ याजकादि words are those which form Genitive compounds under II. 2. 9, and those compounds only are to be taken here; as ग्राघणयाजकैः, ग्राहणपूजकैः, क्षवित्यपूजकैः ॥ क्रीत—गोक्रीतिः, अभक्रीतिः ॥ This is an exception to VI. 2. 139. and in the case of क्रीत, rule VI. 2. 48 is superseded. The words व्याख्यान &c do not denote here भाव or कर्म, had they done so, rule

VI. 2. 149 would have covered them. When the first member is not a kāraka, we have प्रकृतिः and भवन्ति ॥

1 याजक, 2 पूजक, 3 परिचारक, 4 परिषेचक परिवेशक 5 स्नापक आतक 6 अध्यापक, 7 उत्साहक (उत्साहक) 8 उद्दर्तक, 9 हातु, 10 भर्तु, 11 रथगणक, 12 पात्तिगणक, 13 पोतु, 14 हात्, 15 वर्तक,

सप्तम्याः पुण्यम् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्याः, पुण्यम् ॥
तृतीयः ॥ सप्तम्यन्तात्परं पुण्यमित्येतदुत्तरपश्मन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

152. The word पुण्य has acute on the final when preceded by a noun in the Locative case.

Thus अध्ययने पुण्यम् = अध्ययनपुण्यम्, वेशपुण्यम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II. I. 40 by the process of splitting the sūtra (yoga-vibhāga), taking सप्तमी there as a full sūtra, and शौण्डः another. Here by VI. 2. 2, the first member would have preserved its accent, the present sūtra supersedes that and ordains acute on the final. The word पुण्य is derived by the Uṇadi affix अ॒ (Uṇ V. 15) and would have retained its natural accent (VI. I. 213) and thus get acute on the first syllable by kṛit-accent. (VI. 2. 139). Why do we say 'a locative case'? Observe वेशेन पुण्यं = वेशपुण्यम् ॥

ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊनार्थ, कलहम्, तृतीयायाः ॥
तृतीयः ॥ ऊनार्थानुत्तरपश्मानि कलहशब्दभूतीयान्तात्पराण्यन्तोशात्तानि भवन्ति ॥

153. The acute falls on the final of words having the sense of ऊन, and of कलह, when they are second members in a compound, preceded by a term in the instrumental case.

Thus माषोऽन्म्, कार्षोपणोऽन्म्, मासविकल्प्नम्, कार्षोपणविकल्प्नम्, असिकलहः, वाक्कलहः ॥ The compounding takes place by II. I. 31. This is an exception to VI. 2. 2 by which the first member being in the third case, would have retained its original accent. Some say that the word भर्तु in the sūtra means the word-form भर्त्य, so that the aphorism would mean—"after an Instrumental case, the words ऊन, भर्त्य, and कलह get acute on the final". The examples will be in addition to the above,—धान्येनार्थः = धान्यार्थः ॥ If this be so, then the word-form ऊन alone will be taken and not its synonyms like विकल &c. To this we reply, that ऊन will denote its synonyms also, by the fact of its being followed by the word भर्त्य ॥ By sūtra II. I. 31, ऊर्ध्वं and कलह always take the Instrumental case, so we could have omitted the word तृतीयायाः from this sūtra, for by the maxim of pratipadokta &c, ऊनार्थकलहं would have referred to the compound ordained by II. I. 31. The mention of तृतीया here is only for the sake of clearness.

मिथं चानुपसर्गमसंधौ ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथम्, च, अनुपसर्गम्, असंधौ ॥
तृतीयोऽनि वर्तते । मिथ इत्येतदुत्तरपश्मनुपसर्गं तृतीयान्तात्परमन्तोशात्तं भवत्यसंधौ गम्भाने ॥

154. The word मिश्र has acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any Preposition and does not mean a 'compact or alliance'.

Thus शुद्धमिश्रः, तिलमिश्रः, सर्वमिश्रः ॥ Why do we say मिश्र? Observe शुद्धभासा: ॥ Why do we say 'not having a Preposition'? Observe शुद्धसंमिश्रः: ॥ The employment in this sūtra of the phrase 'anupasargam' implies, that wherever else, the word miśra is used, it includes miśra with a preposition also. Therefore in II. 1. 31 where the word मिश्र is used, we can form the Instrumental compounds with मिश्र preceded by a preposition also. Why do we say 'not denoting a compact'? Observe ब्राह्मणसिष्यो राजा = ब्राह्मणैः सह संहित एकार्थमापनः ॥ The word संहित here means a contract formed by reciprocal promises, if you do this thing for me, I will do this for you. Others say, it means close proximity, without losing identity, and thus differs from मिश्र in which two things blend together into one. Therefore though the King and the Brāhmaṇa may be in close proximity as regards space, they both retain their several individualities; hence the counter-example ब्राह्मणमिष्योराजा ॥ While in the examples शुद्धमिश्रः &c there is no possibility of separating the two.

नन्दो गुणप्रतिषेधे संपाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्विताः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दः, गुण, प्रतिषेधे, संपादि, अर्ह, हित, अलम, अर्थः, तद्विताः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संपादि अर्ह हित अलम इत्येवमर्था ये तद्वितास्तद्वितान्युत्तरपशनि नन्दो गुणप्रतिषेधे वर्तमानात्म-राण्यन्तोशाच्चानि भवन्ति ॥

155. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes denoting 'fitted for that' (V. 1. 99), 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63), 'good for that' (V. 1. 5), 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101), have acute on the final, when preceded by the Negative Particle नन्द्, when it makes a negation with regard to the above mentioned attributes.

Thus संपादि 'suited for that' (V. 1. 99):—अकार्णवेष्टकिं चुखम् = न कार्ण वेष्ट-किं (कर्ण वेष्टकाभ्यां सम्पादि) ॥ The affix is तम् ॥ अर्ह 'deserving that' (V. 1. 63):—अच्छेऽस्त्रैः = न छैरिकः (छैरमहानि). The affix is ठक् (V. 1. 64 and V. 1. 19). हित 'good for that' (V. 1. 5):—अवत्सीयः = न वत्सी यः ॥ The affix is छ V. 1. 1. अलमर्थः 'capable to effect that' (V. 1. 101):—असत्तापकः = न सत्तापिकः ॥ The affix is ठम् (V. 1. 18) Why do we say 'after नन्द्'? Observe गर्दभरथमर्हति = गार्दभरथिकः, विगर्दभरथिकः, where the negative नन्द् is used and therefore the अव्यया वि retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say 'negation of that attribute'? Observe गार्दभरथिकावन्यः = अगार्दभरथिकः ॥ The word गुण here means the attribute denoted by the Taddhita affix, and not any attribute in general. Thus अकार्णवेष्टकिं चुखम् =

कर्णवेष्टकाभ्याम् न संपादि मुखम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the sense of sampādi &c' ? Observe पाणिनीयमधीयते = पाणिनीयः; न पाणिनीयः = अपाणिनीयः ॥ Why do we say "Taddhita affixes"? , Observe कन्यां वादुर्महित = कन्यावोदा, न वोदा = अवोदा ॥ Here तृष्ण् a kṛit affix is added in the sense of 'deserving' (III. 3. 169).

ययतोश्चातदर्थे ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ य, यतो, च, अतदर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ य यत् इत्येतौ यौ तद्वितावतर्थे वर्तेते तस्मिन्स्योत्तरपदस्य नभः एषप्रतिषेधविषयावन्त उपास्ते भवति ॥

156. The words formed with the Taddhita affixes य and यत् when not denoting 'useful for that', have acute on the last syllable, after the particle नञ्च negativating the attribute.

Thus पाशानां समूहः = पाश्याः, न पाश्याः = अपाश्याः; So also अतृष्ण्याः (IV. 2. 49); इन्तेषु भवं = इन्त्यास्, न इन्त्यं = अइन्त्यम्, अकर्ण्यम् (V. 1. 6). Why do we say 'atadartha':—not useful for that'. Observe पाशार्थसुरक्षम् = पाश्यम्, न पाश्यम् = अपाश्यम् (V. 4. 25). This rule does not apply when the affixes are not Taddhita, as अवेष्यम् formed with the kṛit affix यत् ॥ There must be negation of the attribute, otherwise इन्त्याइन्यत् = अइन्त्यम् ॥ The affix य and यत्, one without any anubandha and the other with the anubandha त् being specifically mentioned, excludes all other affixes having य as their effective element, such as उष्ण &c. (IV. 2. 9), thus न शामेष्व्यं = अशामेष्व्यम् ॥ See IV. 2. 9.

अच्छकावशक्तौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ, कौ, अ शक्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छ क इत्येवमन्तमशक्तौ गम्यमानायापुत्तरपदं नभः परमन्तोवाच्च भवति ॥

157. A word formed with the kṛit affix अच्छ् and क, preceded by the particle नञ्च, has acute on the final, when the meaning is 'not capable.'

Thus अपच्छः = य पञ्चु न शक्नोति, so also अज्ञाहः, अपडः, अविक्षिप्तः, अविलिख्यः (III. 1. 134 &c). Why do we say when meaning 'not capable'? Observe अपच्छ रीक्षितः, अपच्छः परिव्राजकः ॥ A रीक्षित and a परिव्राजक do not cook their food, not because they are physically incapable of cooking, but because by the vows of their particular order they are prohibited from cooking.

आक्रोशो च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशो, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशो च गम्यमानं नभ उत्तरमध्यकान्तमन्तोवाच्च भवति ॥

158. A word formed by the kṛit-affixes अच्छ् or क, preceded by the Negative particle, has acute on the final when one abuses somebody by that word.

Thus अपच्छौ इयं जात्मः 'this rogue does not cook, though he can do so'. Here avarice is indicated, the fellow wants more pay before he will cook : and not his incapacity. So also अपटोऽयं जात्मः, so also अविक्षिप्तः, अविलिख्यः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (अन्तो दात्तम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशो गम्यमाने नभः परमुत्तरपदं संज्ञायां वर्जमानमन्तोवाच्च भवति ॥

159. When abuse is meant, a word preceded by अभ्, has acute on the final, in denoting a Name.

Thus अदेवदत्तः: 'No Devadatta, not deserving of this name' अवदत्तः, अविष्णुमिदः: ||

कृत्योकेष्टुचार्वादयभ्न ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, उक, इष्टुच्, चार्वादयः, च ॥
पूनिः ॥ कृत्य उक इष्टुच् इत्येवमस्ताभावांदब्धं नम उत्तरेन्तोशाना भवन्ति ॥

160. After the Negative particle, the words formed by the kritya affixes (III. 1. 95), by उक, and इष्टुच्, and the words चाह &c. have acute on the final.

Thus kritya:—अकर्त्तव्यम्, अकरणीयम्, उकः—अनागामुकम्, अनपलाषुकम् ॥ इष्टुच्-अमलंकारिष्टुः, अनिराकरिष्टुः ॥ The affix इष्टुच् includes लिष्टुच् also: अनाघंभविष्टुः, अघं-भगभविष्टुः ॥ चाह &c.:—अचाहः, असाहुः, अयोधिकः, अवदान्यः, अनन्दमेजयः (double negation). अनकस्मात् (double negation). The words वर्तमान, वर्धमान ल्लरमाण, श्रीवमाण, रीथमाण, क्रीयमाण, and शोभमाण preceded by अ (अभ्) when denoting names have acute on the final. अविकारः, असदृशः and अविकारसदृशः (विकार and सदृश taken jointly & separately). अगृहपति, अगृहपतिकः ॥ अराजौ and अनहः in the Vedas only. In the Vernacular they have the accent of नभ्, i. e. udātta on the first.

1 चाह 2 साधु, 3 योधिक (योधिक) 4 अनन्दमेजय, 5 वदान्य 6 अकस्मात्, 7 वर्तमानवर्धमा-नम्नरमाणधिवमाणकोयमाणरोचमाणसोभमानाः (क्रियमाण क्रोयमाण) संज्ञायाम्, 8 विकारसदृशो व्यस्ते समस्ते (अविकार, असदृश अविकारसदृश), 9 गृहपति, 10 गृहपतिक, 11 राजाहोऽष्टव्यसि.

विभाषा तृश्नन्तीश्नश्चिषु ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, तृन्, अभ्, तीश्न, शुचिषु, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

पूनिः ॥ तृन्नन्त अभ् तीश्न शुचि इत्येतेषु नम उत्तरेषु विभाषा उन्त उदासो भवति ॥

161. After the Negative particle, the final of the following is optionally acute :—a word formed with the affix तृन्, and the words अभ्, तीश्न, and शुचि ॥

Thus तृन्—अन्तीती or अंकर्ता ; अभ् &c—अनन्दम् or अंनन्दम्, अतीश्नम्, or अंती-श्नम्, अशुचिः or अंशुचिः ॥ The alternative accent is that of the Indeclinable. (VI. 2. 2)

बहुवीहाविद्यमेतत्पद्धयः प्रथमपूरयोः क्रियागणने ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवीही, इदम्, एतत्, तद्धयः, प्रथम, पूरयोः, क्रिया-गणने, (अन्तउदात्तः) ॥

पूनिः ॥ बहुवीही समाते इदम् एतद् तदिलेतेभ्य उत्तरस्य प्रथमशब्दस्य पूरणप्रत्ययान्तस्य च क्रियागणने वर्तमानस्यान्त उदासो भवति ॥

162. In a Bahuvrīhi, after the words इदम्, एतत् and तद्, the last syllable of प्रथम and of a proper Ordinal Numeral, has the acute, when the number of times of an action is meant.

Thus इ॒ं प्रथमं गमनं भोजनं वा=स इ॒सप्रथमः: 'this is the first time of going or eating'. इ॒ं दृतीय॑ः, इ॒ं तृतीय॑ः, एतप्रथम॑ः, एतदृद्वितीय॑ः, एततृतीय॑ः तत्प्रथम॑ः, तदृद्वितीय॑ः तत् तृतीय॑ः। Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrihi?' Observe अनेन प्रथमः=इ॒सप्रथमः॥ Here the first member being in the third case retains its accent by VI. 2. 2. Why do we say "after idam &c". Observe यत्प्रथमः=यःप्रथम एषाम्, here the first term retains its accent by VI. 2. 1. Why do we say 'of prathama and the Ordinals'? Observe तानि बहुन्यस्य=तद्वहः॥ Why do we say 'in counting an action'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां=त इ॒ं प्रथमाः॥ Here *substances* are counted and not *action*. Why do we say 'in counting'? Observe अयं प्रथम एषां=इ॒ं प्रथमाः i. e. इ॒ं प्रथमः॥ and the word प्रथम means here 'foremost', and is 'not a numeral. When the कण affix is added, the acute falls on the last syllable preceding कण॥ As इ॒ं प्रथमकाः॥ The Bahuvrihi governs the subsequent sūtras upto VI. 2. 178.

संख्यायाः स्तनः ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्यायाः, स्तनः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दे बहुत्रीहौ समासेत्तोऽशान्तो भवति ॥

163. In a Bahuvrihi, after a Numeral, the word स्तन has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ, त्रिस्तनौ, चतुःस्तनौः॥ Why do we say after a Numeral? Observe इ॒शनायस्तना॥ Why do we say 'स्तन'? Observe हिशिराः॥

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये बहुत्रीहौ समासे संख्यायाः परः स्तनशब्दे विभाषा इन्तोशान्तो भवति ॥

164. Optionally so, in the Vedas, the stana after a Numeral has acute on the final.

Thus द्विस्तनौ or द्वैस्तना, चतुःस्तनौ or चैतुःस्तना ॥

संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, मित्र, अजिनयोः (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये बहुत्रीहौ समासे मित्र अजिने इत्येतयोरुच्चरपश्योरन्त उशान्तो भवति ॥ वार्षिकप् ॥ कृषिप्रतिवेधो मित्रः ॥

165. In a Bahuvrihi, ending in मित्र and अजिन, the acute falls on the last syllable, when the compound denotes a Name.

As देवमित्रैः, ब्रह्ममित्रैः, वृक्षाजिनैः, कूलाजिनैः कृष्णाजिनैः॥ Why do we say 'a Name'? Observe प्रियमित्रैः; महाजिनैः॥

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मित्र when the name is that of a Rishi. As विश्वामित्रः which is governed by VI. 2. 106॥

व्यवायिनो इन्तरम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवायिनः, अन्तरम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवायी व्यवधान्ता । तद्वाचिनः परमन्तर बहुत्रीहौ समासे इन्तोशान्तो भवति ॥

166. In a Bahuvrīhi ending in अन्तर्, the acute falls on the final, after a word which denotes 'that which lies between'.

Thus वस्त्रान्तरम् 'through an intervened cloth or drapery', पटान्तरम्, कम्बलान्तरम् = वस्त्रमन्तरं व्यवधायकं यस्य &c. Why do we say 'when meaning lying between'? Observe आत्मान्तरम् = आत्मा स्वभावोऽन्तरोऽन्योयस्य ॥

मुखं स्वाङ्गम् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुखम्, स्वाङ्गम्, (अन्तोदात्मम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मुखमुच्चरपदे स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुत्रीहैः समासे अन्तोदात्माने भवति ॥

167. In a Bahuvrīhi the acute is on the final, when the second member is मुख meaning mouth i. e. the actual bodily part of an animal and not used metaphorically.

Thus गौरमुखः, भद्रमुखः ॥ Why do we say 'an actual part of a body'? Observe शीर्षमुखा शाला ॥ Here मुख means "entrance or door". The word स्वाङ्ग means "a non liquid substance actually to be found in living beings &c". as explained in III. 4. 54.

नाव्ययदिक्शशब्दगोमहत् स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अव्यय, दिक्शशब्द, गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु, वत्सेभ्यः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय विक्शब्द गो महत् स्थूल मुष्टि पृथु वत्स इत्येतेभ्यः परं मुखं स्वाङ्गवाचि बहुत्रीहै समासे नान्तोदात्माने भवति ॥

168. In a Bahuvrīhi, the acute does not fall on such मुख denoting a real mouth, when it comes after an Indeclinable, and a name of a direction, or after गो, महत्, स्थूल, मुष्टि, पृथु and वत्स ॥

Thus: अव्ययः—उैश्चमुखः, नीचैमुखः ॥ The words उैश्चः and नीचैः are finally acute and retain their accent. दिक्—प्राङ्मुखः, प्रत्येहमुखः ॥ The word प्राङ् has acute on the first by VI. 2, 52, and प्रत्येहः is finally acute by VI. 3. 139. गो &c :—गोमुखः, महौमुखः, स्थूलमुखः, मुष्टिमुखः, पृथुमुखः and वत्समुखः ॥ In these the first members of the Bahuvrīhi preserve their respective accents under Rule VI. 2. 1 and in the case of compounds preceded by गो, मुष्टि and वत्स, the optional rule taught in the next sūtra is also superseded by anticipation, though the words may denote comparison.

निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, उपमानात्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठान्तादुपमानवाचिनश्च मुखं स्वाङ्गकुत्तरपदमन्यतरस्यां बहुत्रीहै समासन्तोदात्माने भवति ॥

169. In a Bahuvrīhi, the word मुख denoting 'an actual mouth', has optionally the acute on the final, when preceded by a participle in त, or by that wherewith something is compared.

Thus प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः or प्रक्षालितमुखः ॥ When the final is not acute, then Rule VI. 2. 110 applies which makes the first member have acute on the final optionally, and when that also does not apply, then by VI. 2. 1. the first member preserves its original accent, which is that of the gati (VI. 2. 49). Thus there are three forms. So also with a word denoting comparison:—सिंहमुखः or सिंहमुखः, व्याघ्रमुखः or व्याघ्रमुखः ॥

जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ज्ञानच्छादनात् कोऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥
जातिकाल, सुखादिभ्यः, अनाच्छादनात्, कः, अकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचिन आच्छादनवर्जितात् कालवाचिनः सुखादिभ्यश परं ज्ञानं कृतमितप्रतिपन्नान्कर्त्तयित्वा बहुत्रीहौ समाचेन्नोदात्तं भवति ॥

170. After a word denoting a species (with the exception of a word for 'garment or covering'), and after a time-denoting word as well as after सुख &c. the Participle in क has acute on the final, in a Bahuvrīhi, but not so when the participles are कृत, मित and प्रतिपन्न ॥

Thus सारङ्गजभः, पलाण्डुभक्षितः, सुरारीतः ॥ कालः—मासजातैः, सवत्सरजातैः, इन्द्रजातैः ॥ सुख &c.—सुखजातैः दुःखजातैः, वृमजातैः ॥ Why do we say "after a Species, a time or सुख &c. word"? Observe पुत्रजातः (II. 2. 37), the participle being placed after the word Putra. Why do we say 'when not meaning a garment'? Observe वैस्वच्छत्त्रः, वैसनच्छत्त्रः from the root वैस् with the affixes पूर् and श्वृ॒ respectively. Why do we say "when not कृत &c."? Observe कुण्डकृतः, कुण्डामितः कुण्डप्रतिपन्नः; कुण्ड is first acute by Phit II. 3 being neuter. These three participles do not stand first in a compound (contrary to II. 2. 36), as this sūtra implies. In the counter-examples, above given, the first members retain their original accent (VI. 2. 1). The words सुख &c are given under III. 1. 18.

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 वृम (वृप तोत्र) 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 अस्त, 6 आस्त*, 7 अलीक 8 प्रतीप, 9 करुण, 10 कृपण, 11 सोढ, 12 गहन.

वा जाते ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जाते, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातशब्दउत्तरपैव वा इन्त उदात्तो भंवति बहुत्रीहौ समासे ज्ञातिकालसुखादिभ्यः ॥

171. After a species (with the exception of garment) or a time denoting word, or after सुख &c. in a Bahuvrīhi, the word जात has optionally acute on the final.

Thus इन्द्रजातैः or इन्द्रजातः, स्तनजातैः or स्तनजातः, मासजातैः or मासजातः, संवत्सरजातैः or संवत्सरजातः; सुखजातैः or सुखजातः, दुःखजातैः or दुःखजातः &c. The words इन्द्र and स्तन are first-acute by Phit II. 6; मास is first-acute by Phit II. 15, संवत्सर is finally-acute by Phit I. 7. बहिष्ठवत्सरति, शत्यान्ताम् "words ending in बहिष्ठ, वत्स, ति, शत् and म् are finally acute", as वहिष्ठः, सवत्सरः, सत्सतैः, विशृत्, गुर्थैम् ॥ The words सुख and दुःख are end-acute by Phit I. 6.

नञ्चसुभ्याम् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नञ्च, सुभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्चसुभ्यां परसुन्तरपदं बहुत्रीहो समासन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

172. A Bahuvrīhi formed by the Negative particle नञ्च or by सु has acute on the last syllable of the compound.

Thus अयंत्रैऽदेशः, अत्रीहैः, अमार्षः, सुयैः, सुत्रीहैः, सुमार्षः ॥ The acute here rests on the last syllable of the completed compound; so that the rule applies to the compounds which have fully developed themselves by taking the samāsānta affixes. Thus अनृचः (formed by the samāsānta affix अ V. 4. 74). Though the word समास and उत्तरपद are both present here by context, yet the operation is performed on samāsa. This is to be inferred, because of the next sūtra. For had the present sūtra meant that the final of the second member (उत्तरपद) preceded by नञ्च and सु gets the acute, then there would have been no necessity of the next sūtra, for the present would have covered the case of सुकुमारीक &c because कप् is not a part of the *second term* (uttarapada) कुमारी but of the *compound* (Samasa) सुकुमारी; and therefore, if we translated the present sūtra, by saying that the end of second term gets acute, the accent would have fallen on ई in सुकुमारीकः even by this sūtra. But this is not intended, because of the accent of the samasanta words अनृचः and बहृचः ॥ There is necessity of the next sūtra, because a samāsa includes not only the simple samāsa, but one ending with a samāsānta affix. Therefore, had not the next sūtra been made, the accent would have fallen on क and not on ई, for the affix कप् is considered part of the samasa and not of the uttarapada समासान्तः समासस्थैवावयवा नोन्तरपदस्य ॥

कपि पूर्वम् ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, पूर्वम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्चसुभ्यां कपि परतः पूर्वमन्तोशात्तं भवति ॥

173. A Bahuvrīhi formed by नञ्च or सु and ending in the affix कप्, (V. 4. 153) has acute on the syllable preceding the affix.

By the last'sūtra the accent would have fallen on कप्, this makes it fall on the vowel preceding it. Thus अकुमारीकोदेशः, अवृपलीकः, अबद्धवन्धूकः, सुकुमारीकः, सुवृपलीकः, सुबद्धवन्धूकः ॥

हस्त्वान्ते अन्त्यात्पूर्वम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्त्वान्ते, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वम्, (उदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हस्त्वा अन्तो यस्य तदिरं हस्त्वान्तपुनरपदं समासो वा, तत्रान्दात्पूर्वमुशात्तं भवति कपि परतो नञ्चसुभ्यां परं बहुत्रीहो समासे ॥

174. When the compound ends in a light vowel, the acute falls on the syllable before such last, in a Bahuvrīhi preceded by नञ्च and सु to which कप् is added.

Thus अयैवकोदेशः, अत्रीहिकः, अमार्षकः, सुयैवकः, सुत्रीहिकः, सुमार्षकः ॥ The repetition of पूर्व in this sūtra, though its anuyritti was present from the last,

shows, that in the last aphorism, the syllable preceding कष् takes the acute, while here the syllable preceding the short-vowel-ending final syllable has the acute and not the syllable preceding कष्॥ This is possible with a word which is, at least, of two syllables (not counting, of course, सु and क or कष्). Therefore, in अङ्गैकः and सुङ्गैकः, the acute is on the syllable preceding कष् by VI. 2. 173, because it has here no antyāt-purvam.

बहोर्नेभ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहोः, नभ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरपदवर्थबहुत्वे यो बहुशङ्क्षे वर्तते तस्मान्नमृद्व स्वरो भवति । नभ्वस्यामित्युक्तम् । बहोरपि लक्ष्या भवति ॥

175. A Bahuvrīhi with बहु, has the same accent as नभ्व, when it denotes muchness of the object expressed by the second member.

In other words a Bahuvrīhi with the word बहु in the first member, is governed by all those rules which apply to a Bahuvrīhi with a Negative Particle such as Rules VI. 2. 172 &c. when this gives the sense of multicity of the objects denoted by the second member. Thus बहुवर्ती रेशः, बहुप्रीतीहः, बहुत्तिलः: the same as VI. 2. 172. बहुयैवकः, बहुप्रीतिकः, बहुमाषकः by VI. 2. 174. बहुजैरः, बहुमैरः, बहुमित्रः, बहुमृतः: by VI. 2. 116: these examples of VI. 2. 116 are not given by Dr. Bohtlingk.

Why do we say 'uttara-pada-bhumni—when multicity of the objects denoted by the second member is meant'? Observe बहुषु मनोऽस्य = बहुमना भयम् (VI. 2. 1).

न गुणादयोऽवयवाः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गुणादयः, अवयवाः (अन्तोदाचाः) वृत्तिः ॥ गुणादयोऽवयववाच्चिनोवहारुन्ने बहुव्रीहौ नान्तोशाचा भवन्ति ॥

176. In a Bahuvrīhi, after बहु, the acute does not fall on the final of गुण &c. when they appear in the compound as ingredient of something else.

Thus बहुगुणः रज्जुः, बहुशरं पदम्, बहुच्छन्दोमानम्, बहुध्यायः (VI. 2. 1). गुणादि is an Akrtigraha. Why do we say "when it denotes an avayava or ingredient"? As बहुगुणोऽब्राह्मणः = अध्ययनशुतसदाचारादयोऽत्रगुणाः ॥

1 गुण, 2 अक्षर, 3 अध्याय, 4 सूक्त, 5 छन्दोमान. आङ्कुतिगण.

उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपर्यु ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गात्, स्वाङ्गम्, ध्रुवम्, अपर्यु, (अन्तोदाचाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवं पर्युर्जितमन्तोशात्तं भवति, बहुव्रीहौ समाप्ते ॥

177. A word denoting a part of the body, which is constant (and indispensable), with the exception of पर्यु, has, after a Preposition in a Bahuvrīhi compound, the acute on the last syllable.

Thus प्रपृष्ठः, प्रोद्धः, प्रलाटः; सततं यस्य प्रगतं पृष्ठं भवति स प्रपृष्ठः ॥ Why do we say 'after a Preposition'? Observe इर्दनीयकलाटः ॥ Why do we say 'part of the body'? Observe प्रशास्या वृक्षः ॥ Why do we say 'dhruva—constant and indispensable'? Observe उद्गाहः क्रोशति ॥ Here the hand is raised up only at the time of cursing and not *always*, so the state of उद्गाहः is temporary and not permanent. Why do we say with the exception of पञ्च? Observe ईत्पञ्चः, त्रिपञ्चः (VI.2.1).

वनं समासे ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वनम्, समासे, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ समासमात्रे वनांप्रसरदुन्नरप्रसुपसर्गात्तरमन्तोशतं भवति ॥

178. After a preposition, वन has acute on the final in compounds of every kind.

Thus प्रवर्णे यष्ट्यम्, निर्वर्णे प्रजिधीयते, the न changed to न by VIII. 4, 5. The word 'samāsa' is used in the sūtra to indicate that all sorts of compounds are meant, otherwise only Bahuvrīhi would have been meant.

अन्तः ॥ १७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तदशब्दवान्नरं वनमन्तोशतं भवति ॥

179. After अन्तर् the acute falls on the final of वन ॥

Thus अन्तवर्णे देशः ॥ This sūtra is made in order to make वन oxytoned, when a preposition (upasarga) does not precede.

अन्तश्च ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तदशब्दश्चात्तरप्रसुपसर्गात्तरमन्तोशतं भवति ॥

180. The word अन्तर् has acute on the final when preceded by a Preposition.

Thus प्रान्तैः, पर्यन्तैः ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or a प्राणि compound.
न निविभ्याम् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, नि, विभ्याम्, (अन्तोदात्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नि वि इत्यताभ्यासुन्नरान्तदशब्दो नान्तोशतो भवति ॥

181. The word antar has not acute on the final, after the prepositions नि and वि ॥

Thus न्यन्तः, व्यन्तः, here the first member retains its acute, and semivowel is then substituted for the vowel इ, then the subsequent grave is changed to svarita by VIII. 2, 4.

परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम् ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परे:, अभितः-भावि, मण्डलम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परेरहतरमभितोभाविवचनं मण्डलं चान्तोशतं भवति ॥

182. After परि, a word, which expresses something, which has both this side and that side, as well as the word मण्डल, has acute on the final.

Thus परिकूलम्, परितीर्म्, परिमण्डलम् ॥ This is a Bahuvrīhi or प्राणि compound or an Avyayibhāva. If it is an Avyayibhāva, then rule VI. 2, 33 is superseded;

and the first member does not retain its original accent. अभितः = उभयतः 'on both sides, अभितोभावोऽस्यास्ति = अभितोभाविन् 'that which has both sides: namely those things which have naturally two sides such as 'banks', 'shores' &c.

प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रात्, अस्वाङ्गम्, संज्ञायाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादुन्तरपश्मस्वाङ्गवाच्चि संज्ञायां विषये इत्तोशान्तं भवति ॥

183. After प्र, a word, which does not denote a part of body, has acute on the final, when the compound is a name.

Thus प्रकोष्ठैम्, प्रगृहैम्, प्रहृतैम् ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting a body part'? Observe प्रैहस्तम्, प्रैपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe प्रपीठम् ॥
निरुद्धकादीनि च ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निरुद्धकादीनि, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निरुद्धकाशीनि च शब्दरूपाण्यन्तोशान्तानि भवति ॥

184. The words निरुद्धक &c, have acute on the final.
Thus निरुद्धकैम्, निरुलपैम्, निरुपलैम् &c.

1 निरुद्धक, 2 निरुपल निरुलप 3 निर्मसिक, 4 निर्मशक, 5 निष्कालक, 6 निष्कालिक, 7 निष्पेष, 8 दुस्तरीप, 9 निस्तरीप, 10 निस्तरीक, 11 निरजिन, 12 उरजिन, 13 उपाजिन, 14 परेहस्तपादकेशकर्षा भाकृतिगण.

These may be considered either as प्रादि समास or Bahuvrihi. If they be considered as avyayī bhāva compounds then they are end acute already by VI. I. 223. The word निष्कालकः = निष्काल्तः कालकात्, is a Prādi-samāsa with the word काल ending in the affix कन् ॥ The word दुस्तरीपः is thus formed: to the root तृ is added the affix ई and we have तरी (Uṇ III. 158) तरीम्. पाति = तरीपः; कुस्तिन् स्तरीपः = दुस्तरीपः ॥ The word निस्तरीकः is formed by adding the affix कप् to the Bahuvrihi निस्तरी ॥ The words हस्त, पाद, कश आदि कर्म have acute on the final after परि, as, परिहस्तैः, परिपादैः, परिकेशः, and परिकर्मैः ॥

अभेमुखम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभेः, मुखम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अभेहत्तरं मुखमन्तोशान्तं भवति ॥

185. The word मुख has acute on the final when preceded by अभि ॥

As, अभिमुखैम् ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi or a प्रादि samāsa. If it is an Avyayī-bhāva, then it would have acute on the final by VI. I. 223 also. By VI. 2. 177, even मुख would have oxytone after an upasarga, the present sūtra makes the additional declaration that मुख is oxytone even when the compound is not a Bahuvrihi, when it does not denote an indispensable part of body, or a part of body even, as was the case in VI. 2. 177. Thus अभिमुखौ शाला ॥

अपात्म ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपात्म, च, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अपात्मोन्तरं मुखमन्तोशान्तं भवति ॥

186. The word मुख has acute on the final, after the preposition अप् ॥

Thus अपमुखैम्, अपमुखैः ॥ The compound is in one case Avyayibhāva also, when rule VI. 2. 33 will be superseded. • The separation of this from the last sūtra, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorism, in which the anuvritti of अप only goes.

स्फगपूतवीणाङ्गोधकुक्षिसरिनाम नाम च १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जः, उध्वम कुक्षिं सीर नाम, नाम, च,
वृत्तः ॥ स्फग पूत वीणा अञ्जस् अध्वम कुक्षिं इत्येतान्युत्तरशानि सीरनामानं नामशब्दशापादुत्तराण्यन्तो-
शासानि भवन्ति ।

187. The words स्फग, पूत, वीणा, अञ्जस्, अध्वम, कुक्षिं, नामन् and a word denoting ‘a plough’, have acute on the final when preceded by अप ॥

Thus अपस्फगैम्, अपपूतैम्, अपवीणैम्, अपाञ्जैः, अपाध्वौ (This ordains acute on the final where the compound apāḍhwa does not take the samāsanta affix अच् by V. 4. 85, when it takes that affix, the acute will also fall on the final because अच् is a चित् affix.) This further shows that the samāsanta affixes are not compulsory. (अनियश्च समासान्तः), अपकुक्षिः, अपसीरैः आहैः, अपलाङ्गैम्, अपनामै ॥ These are प्रार्थि compounds or Bahuvrihi or Avyayibhavas. Some of these viz. स्फग, पूत and कुक्षिः will be end-acute by VI. 2. 177, also when they denote parts of body and a permanent condition and the compound is a Bahuvrihi. Here the compound must not be a Bahuvrihi, nor should these words denote parts of body and permanent condition of these parts.

अधेरुपरिस्थम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधे:, उपरिस्थम्, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अधेरुत्तरमुपरिस्थवाचि अन्तोदात्तं भवति ।

188. After अधे, that word, which denotes that thing which overlaps or stands upon, has acute on the final.

Thus अधिकर्क्कैः = इन्तस्योपरि योऽन्योऽन्तो जायते ‘a tooth that grows over another tooth’. अधिकर्क्कैः, अधिकर्क्कैः ॥ These are प्रार्थि samāsa or an appositional compound in which the second member has been dropped. Why do we say when meaning ‘standing upon’? Observe अधिकर्क्कैरणम् Here the acute is on क्, the krit-formed second member retaining its accent (VI. 2. 139).

अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनो:, अप्रधान, कनीयसी,
(अन्तोदात्तम्)
वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुत्तरप्रधानवाचि कनीयभान्तोदात्तं भवति ।

189. After अनु, a word which is not the Principal, as well as कनीयरू has acute on the final.

The word अप्रधान means a word which stands in a dependant relation in a compound. Thus अनुगतो उयेष्टम् = अनुउयेष्टः, अनुमध्यैः ॥ These are प्रार्थि samāsa

In which the first member is the principal or Pradhâna. अनुगतः कनीयाम् = अनुकूलीयम्, here the second member is the Principal: the word कनीयस् is taken as प्रधानः ॥ Had it been non-pradhâna, it would be covered by the first portion of the sâtra, and there would have been no necessity of its separate enumeration. Why do we say "अप्रधान?" Observe अनुगतो ज्येष्ठः = अनुज्येष्ठः, where ज्येष्ठ is the Principal.

पुरुषभान्वादिष्टः ॥ १९० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषः, च, अन्वादिष्टः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दो अन्वादिष्टाच्च आनोहत्तरोन्तादान्तो भवति ।

190. After अनु, the acute falls on the final of पूरुष, when it means a man of whom mention was already made.

The word अन्वादिष्ट means 'of a secondary importance, inferior', or 'mentioned again after having already been mentioned'. Thus अन्वादिष्टः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः; but अनुगतः पुरुषः = अनुपुरुषः ॥

अतेरकृत्पदे ॥ १९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतेः, अकृत्पदे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अतेः परमकृदन्तं पदशब्दभान्तोरीतां भवति ।
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अतेर्द्वातुलोपहाति वक्तव्यम् ॥

191. After अति, a word not formed by a krit-affix, and the word पद, have acute on the last syllable.

Thus अथड्कुशो नागः, अतिकृशोऽप्यः, अतिपर्वीशकूरी ॥ Why do we say 'non-krit-word and पद'? Observe अतिकारकः ॥

Vart :—The rule is restricted to those compounds in which a root has been elided. That is, when in analysing the compound a verb like कृम् is to be employed to complete the sense. Therefore it does not apply to शोभनो गार्थः = अतिगार्थः ॥ But it would apply to अतिकारकः, which when analysed becomes equal to अतिकान्तः कारूम् ॥

नेरनिधाने ॥ १९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, अनिधाने, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परमुत्तरप्रसन्तोशात्तं भवति ।

192. After नि, the second member has the acute on the last syllable, when the sense is of 'not laying down'.

The word निधानं = अप्रकाशता 'not making manifest'. Thus निमूलम्, न्यक्षम्, नितृणम् ॥ These are either Bahuvrihi or prâdisamâsa. In the case of their being Avyayibhâva, they would have acute on the final by VI. i. 223. Why do we say when meaning 'not laying down'? Observe निवाकः = निहितवाक् as निवागवृष्टः; निश्चः = निहितश्चः ॥ The force of नि is that of निधान here.

प्रतेरश्वादयस्तपुरुषे ॥ १९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतेः, अश्वादयः, तपुरुषे, (अन्तोदात्तः)
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतेरश्वादयस्तपुरुषे समासेन्तोशात्ता भवति ।

193. In a Tatpurusha compound, the words अंशु &c have acute on the final when preceded by प्रति ॥

Thus प्रत्यंशुः, प्रतिजनैः, प्रतिराजौ ॥ In the case of राजन् this rule applies when the Samāstānta affix दस् is not added, when that affix is added, the acute will also be on the final by virtue of दस् which is a त्वित् affix.

1 अंशु, 2 जन, 3 राजन्, 4 उष्टु, 5 खेटक (खेटक), 6 अजिर, 7 आद्रा, 8 अवण, 9 कृत्तिका, 10 अर्ध, 11 पुर (आर्प्तपुर आधुषुः) ॥

The word अंशु is formed by the affix कु under the general class सूग्युः (Uṇ I. 37), राजन् is formed by the affix कनिन् (Uṇ I. 156), उष्टु by adding षट् to उष् 'to burn'. (Uṇ IV. 162), खिद् + षट् = खेटक ; अजिर is formed by किरच (Uṇ I. 53) आ + द्रा + थड् (III. 3. 106), with the augment एक् added to आ = आद्रा ॥ शु + लयुद् = अवण, कृत + तिकन् = कृत्तिका (Uṇ III. 147) जस् + अस् (III. 1. 134) = अर्ज ; पुर + क = पुर ॥

Why do we say 'in the Tatpurusha'? Observe प्रतिगता भंशबोऽस्य = प्रस्तु-
मुरयसुष्टुः ॥

उपाद् द्वयजजिनमगौरादयः ॥ १९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाद्, द्वयच् अजिनम्, अ-
गौरादयः, (अन्तोदात्तम्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उपादुन्तरं द्वयजजिनं चान्तोदात्तं भवन्ति तत्पुरुषे समासे गौरार्णवं जयित्वा ॥

194. In a Tatpurusha, the words of two syllables and अजिन have acute on the final when preceded by उप, but not when they are गौर and the rest.

Thus उपगतो इवः = उपेष्वैः, उपन्त्रैः, उपसोमैः, उपहोङ्गैः, उपमिन्मैः ॥ But not so in उपगौरः, उपनन्दः &c.

1 गौर, 2 नैष (नैष) 3 तैल, 4 लेट, 5 लोट, 6 जिह्वा, 7 कृष्ण (कृष्णा) 8 कन्धा, 9 शुध (शुड) 10 कल्प, 11 पात्रः

Why "in a Tatpurusha"? Observe उपगतः सोमाऽस्य = उपसोमः ॥

सोरवश्चेपणे ॥ १९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोः, अवशेषपणे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुशद्वात्परमुन्तरपूर्वं तत्पुरुषे समासन्तोशान्तं भवाते अवक्षेपणे गम्यमाने ॥

195. After सु, the second member has acute on the final in a Tatpurusha compound, when reproach is meant, in spite of the addition of सु which denotes praise.

Thus इह खत्विशार्णी, सुरथण्डेल सुस्पिताम्यां सुप्रत्यवसितैः ॥ The word सु here verily denotes praise, but it is the sense of the whole sentence that indicates reproach or censure. Why do we say "after सु"? Observe कुञ्जाद्याणः ॥ Why 'when repreach is meant'? Observe शोभनेषु लृणेषु = सुतृणेषु ॥

विभाषोल्पुच्छेः ॥ १९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उत्पुच्छे, (अन्तउदातः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुच्छशालेह तत्पुरुषे विभाषा इति उदातां भवति ॥

196. In a Tatpurusha, the word उत्पुच्छ may optionally have acute on the final.

Thus उक्तान् = उपुच्छः or उत्पुच्छः (VI. 2. 2) ||. When this word is derived by the affix अच् from पुच्छमुरस्यति = उत्पुच्छयति, then it would always have taken acute on the final by VI. 2. 144, the present sūtra ordains option there also. The rule does not apply to a non-Tatpurusha : as, उद्दतं पुच्छमस्य = उत्पुच्छः ||

द्वित्रिभ्यां पाहन्मूर्द्धं सु बहुवीहौ ॥ १९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, त्रिभ्याम्, पात, दत,
मूर्द्धं स, बहुवीहौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इति इत्येताभ्यामुन्नरेय पाद एत मूर्खन् इत्येतेषु भरपदेय यो बहुत्रीहिस्तत्र विभाषा इत उशातो भवति ॥

197. In a Bahuvrshi, the words पाद्, दत् and मूर्धन् have optionally acute on the final after द्वि and त्रि ॥

Thus द्वै पाशवस्य = द्वैरात् or द्वैपात्, त्रिपाद् or त्रिपात्, द्विरेत् or द्विरेत्, त्रिरेत् or त्रिरेत्, द्विसूर्धा or द्विसूर्धा ॥ The word पात् is पात् with its अ elided, (V. 4. 140) इत् is the substitute of इत् (V. 4. 141) and सूर्धन् retains its न् not allowing samāsanta affix. This also indicates that the samāsanta rule is not universal. When the samāsanta affix is added, then also the acute is on the final, for the कार्यी is here the Bahuvrihi compound, and this is only a part of it. Thus द्विसूर्धः, त्रिसूर्धः ॥ Why after द्वि and त्रि? Observe कन्यौषमूर्धा here the first member is middle acute by Phiṭ II. 19 and this accent is retained VI. 2. 1. Why 'पात् &c'? Observe द्विहस्तम्, त्रिहस्तम् ॥ Why 'Bahuvrihi'? Observe इयोसूर्धा = द्विसूर्धा ॥

सक्थं चाक्रान्तात् ॥ १९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सक्थम्, च, अ क्रान्तात्, (अन्तोदातः) (विभापा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स कृथमिति कृतसमाप्तान्तः स कृथिशब्दो वृत्तिरूपं गृह्णते सोक्रान्तात्परो विभाषान्तोऽवान्तो भवति ॥

198. The word सक्त्य has acute on the final optionally, when preceded by any word other than what ends in क्त॥

The word सक्य is the samāshānta form of स्कृथि (V. 4. 113.). Thus गौरसक्यः or गौरसकृथः, श्लश्णसक्यः or श्लश्णसकृथः. The word गीर being formed by प्रज्ञादि शण् and श्लश्ण by कस्तु (Up. III. 19) are both end-acute. Why 'not after a word ending in क'? Observe चक्सकृथः which is always oxytone as it is formed by चक्ष (V. 4. 113) a चिन् affix.

परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् ॥ १९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परादिः, छन्दसि, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये पराविश्वान्तो भवति बहुलम् ॥

Karika—परादिश परन्तु श पूर्वन्तश्चापि हृदयते ।

पूर्वादियश्च दृढयन्ते व्यत्ययो बहुलं ततः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्तप्रकरणे विचक्षार्थीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

षाठ ॥ पूर्वपश्चान्तोऽन्तप्रकरणे मरुद्वज्ज्ञारीनां छेन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ पूर्वपशाशुश्रान्तप्रकरणे विवेशासारीनां छन्दस्युपसंख्यामम् ॥

199. The first syllable of the second member is diversely acute, in the Veda.

The word पर “the second member” refers to सकृथ्, as well as to any other word in general. Thus अऽिच्छसकृथैमालभेत्, ‘but लोमशैसकृथः so also एशुषाहृः, वाकृपति:, चित्पति॥’ In the non-Vedic literative these last two compounds will be final acute by VI. 1. 223, rule VI. 2. 18 not applying because of the prohibition contained in VI. 2. 19.

The rule is rather too restricted. It ought to be : “In the Veda, the *first* syllable and the *final* syllable of the *second* member, as well as the *final* syllable and the *first* syllable of the *preceding* member are seen to have the acute accent, in supersession of all the foregoing rules”.

As to where the final of the second terms takes the acute, we have this *Vartika*—In the Veda, विचक्र &c have acute on the final of the second term. As विचक्रेण, विचन्धुरेण, विवृतारथेन, ॥ गिथेन मुष्टिष्ठत्यया ॥

As to where the final of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vartika* :—The words मरुद्वृद्ध &c in the Vedas have acute on the final of the first term. As मरुद्वृद्धः and विश्वैषुः ॥

As to where the first syllable of the preceding takes the acute, we have this *Vartika* :—In the Veda, the words विवोशस &c have acute on the first syllable of the first member. As विवोशसाय सामगाय ते ॥

ઓમૃ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER THIRD'

अलुगुत्तरपदे ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलुक्, उत्तरपदे ॥
पृतिः ॥ अलुगितं च उत्तरपदे इति च एतश्चिक्रतं बदितव्यम् । यदित उर्ध्वमनुक्रमित्यामो इलुगुत्तरपदे ।
स्येव तद्वितव्यम् ॥

1. In the following upto VI. 3. 24 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase “the elision does not take place before the second member of the compound”.

The words अलुक् ‘there is no elision’, and उत्तरपदे “before the second member” are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras. Both these words govern the sūtras upto VI. 3. 24, jointly; while उत्तरपदे extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अलु (VI.4. 1). Thus sūtra VI. 3. 2 says “the affixes of the Ablative after ‘stoka’ &c”. The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e. g. “the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c are not elided before the second member of the compound”. Thus स्तोकात् मुक्तः = स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अत्पानमुक्तः ॥ Why do we say “before the second member”? Observe निष्क्रान्तः स्तोकात् = निःस्तोकः ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here.

पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याः, स्तोकादिभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥
पृतिः ॥ स्तोकान्तिकसूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि स्तोकाशीनि तेभ्यः परस्याः पञ्चम्या उत्तरपदे इलुभवति ॥

2. The Ablative-ending after स्तोक् &c is not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्तः, अत्पानमुक्तः, अन्तिकाशागतः, अश्याशाशागतः, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्तः ॥ By I. 2. 46, a case-inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prātipadīka, and by II. 4. 71 the endings of a Prātipadīka are elided. Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्तः, the ablative ending required to be dropped. The present sūtra prevents that. The words स्तोक् &c in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them. Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्तः, स्तोकेभ्यः मुक्तः are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not

one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute. Thus while स्तोकामुक्तः being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI. 1. 158, VI. 2. 144), the word स्तोकाम्यां मुक्तः being treated as *two* words, will have separate acute accents. The above compounding takes place by II. 1. 39.

Vārt :—The word आद्याणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection. Here also the Ablative is not elided. Thus आद्याणाशश्यं शंसति = आद्याणाच्छंसिन् “a kind of Ritvik priest”.

- ओजः सहामभस्तमस्तृतीयायाः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् तमस्, तृतीयायाः (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् तमस् इत्येतेभ्य उत्तरस्थास्तृतीयाया अलुभवति उत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अज्जस उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ पुसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

3. The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound.

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् ॥

Vārt —अज्जस् also should be enumerated. Thus अज्जसाकृतम् ॥

Vārt :—The compounds पुसानुजः and जनुषान्धः should also be mentioned. Thus पुसा हेतुनानुजः = पुसानुजः ॥ जनुषा हेतुनान्धः = जनुषान्धः ॥ The word जनु is another name of जन्मन् ‘birth’.

मनसः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनसः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनस उत्तरस्थास्तृतीयाया संज्ञायामतुभवति ॥

4. After मनस्, when the compound is a Name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member.

Thus मनसाइता, मनसागुप्ता, मनसासंग्रहा ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe मनोइता, मनागुप्ता ॥

आज्ञायिनि च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आज्ञायिनि, च, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आज्ञायिन्युत्तरपदे मनस उत्तरस्थास्तृतीयाया अलुभवति ॥

5. Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided.

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽज्ञातुं शोलमस्य ॥

आत्मनश्च पूरणे ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनः, च, पूरणे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन उत्तरस्थास्तृतीयाया पूरणप्रस्यान्तउत्तरपदे इलुभवति ॥

6. The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided when an Ordinal Numeral follows.

Thus आत्मनापञ्चमः, आत्मनाषष्ठः ॥ The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vârtika सूतीयाविभाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसख्यानं (II. 3. 18 Vârt). And compounding takes place by II. I. 30, by separating त्रृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sûtra or in this way :—आत्मना कृतः पञ्चमः = आत्मनापञ्चमः ॥ How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ in उत्तरस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ एव? It is a Bahuvrîhi compound—भास्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥ The word पूर्णे is a later addition of the Vârtikakâra.

वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वैयाकरणाख्यायाम्, चतुर्थ्याः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वैयाकरणस्थाख्या वैयाकरणाख्या । भास्मा संज्ञा । यथा संज्ञया वैयाकरणा एव व्यवहरति स्थामामन उत्तरस्त्वाचतुर्थ्या अलुगम्भवति ॥

7. The Dative case ending is not elided after आत्मन् when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥, The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhâga of sûtra II. I. 36, and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha.

परस्य च ॥ < ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्य, च, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य च या चतुर्थी तस्या वैयाकरणाख्यायामलुगम्भवति ॥

8. The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus परस्मैपदम्, परस्मभाषा ॥

हलदन्तात्ससम्याः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल् अदन्तात्, ससम्याः, संज्ञायाम्, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताश्वदन्ताद्योत्तरस्याः ससम्याः संज्ञायामलुगम्भवति ॥
वार्तीकम् ॥ हृदयम्यां डः ॥

9. The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name.

Thus युधिष्ठिरः, स्वचिसारः, गतिष्ठिरः ॥ Though गति does not end in a consonant, yet it retains its Locative ending by virtue of VIII. 3. 95 (गतियुधिष्ठीं स्थिरः) which shows by implication that गति is governed by this rule. So also अ ending words: as अरप्यतिलकाः, अरप्यभाषकाः, वनकिशुकाः, वनहर्षपुकाः, पूर्वहणेस्फोटकाः, कूपेपिशाच्यकाः ॥ Why do we say “after a word ending in a consonant or अ”? Observe नव्यां कुक्कुटिकाऽनश्चकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशाऽभूम्पाशाः ॥ Why do we say ‘when a Name’? Observe अक्षशांडः ॥

Vârt :—The Locative ending is not elided after हृद and विश्वः as : हृविस्पृक्, विविस्तृकः ॥

कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारनाम्नि, च, प्राचाम्, हलादौ, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचीं देशे अल्कारनाम तच हलाशदुन्नरपदे हलवन्तादुन्नरस्याः सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

10. The Locative-case affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant.

Thus सूपेशाणः, हृषिमाषकः, हलेष्विपदिका, हलेष्विपदिका ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a niyama or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant.

Why do we say when it is the 'name of a tax'? Observe अध्यार्हितपश्चः = अध्यार्हितपश्चः ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues', but not of a 'tax'. Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe 'शूथपश्चः' = शूथपश्चः ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe अविकटे उरणः = अविकटे उरणः ॥ So also नद्यां देहनी = नदीदेहनी ॥ For accent of these words see VI. 2. 65.

मध्याद्गुरौ ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्, गुरौ, अलुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यादुन्नरस्याः सप्तम्या गुरादुन्नरपदे इलुग्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तादेति वन्धव्यम् ॥

11. The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows.

As, मध्येगुरुः ॥

Vārt.—So also after अन्त ; as अन्तेगुरुः ॥

अमूर्खमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ मूर्खं, मस्तकात्, स्वाङ्गात्, अकामे, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्खमस्तकवर्जितास्वाङ्गादुन्नरस्याः सप्तम्या अकामउन्नरपदे इलुग्भवति ॥

12. The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्खन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठे कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकालः, उर्मस्लोमा, उर्मेमणिः ॥ But मूर्खशिखः, मस्तकशिखः, मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकामः ॥ When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply : as अक्षशौण्डः, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अग्नुलिप्राणः, अह्याबलिः ॥

अन्धे च विभाषा ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्धे, च, विभाषा, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्ध इति यज्ञनां शूद्यते । तस्मन्नुन्नरपदे हलवन्तादुन्नरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा इलुग्भवति ॥

13. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्धः or हस्तबन्धः, चक्रबन्धः or चक्रबन्धः ॥ This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrihi when the first member is a स्वाक्षर word, and also it is an option to VI. 3. 19, when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वांग or not. The word बन्धः is घञ् formed word. When the first member ends in a vowel (other than अ), the rule does not apply. As शुभिबन्धः ॥

तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र पुरुषे, कृति, बहुलम्, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषे समासे कृदन्तउत्तरपदे सप्तम्या बहुलमलुग्भवति ॥

14. In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a kṛit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved. .

As स्तम्बरमः, कर्णेजपः, but also कुरुचरः, मङ्गचरः ॥

प्रावृद्दशरत्कालदिवां जे ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृद्द, शरत्, काल, दिवाम्, जे, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृद्द शरत् काल दिव् इत्येतेषां जे उत्तरपदे सप्तम्या अलुग्भवति ॥

15. The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृद्द, शरत्, काल and दिव् when जे follows.

Thus प्रावृषिजः, शरदिजः, कालेजः, दिविजः ॥ This sūtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sūtra.

विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, वर्ष, क्षर, शर, वरात्,
(अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्ष क्षर शर वर इत्येतेष्य उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या जे उत्तरपदे विभाषा अलुग्भवति ॥

16. The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर when जे follows.

Thus वर्षेजः or वर्षजः, क्षरेजः or क्षरजः, शरेजः or शरजः, वरेजः or वरजः ॥

घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, काल, तनेषु, काल नाम्नः, (अलुक्)
वृत्तिः ॥ घसंजके प्रत्यये कालशब्दे तनप्रत्यये च परतः कालनाम्न उत्तरस्याः सप्तम्या विभाषा अलुग्भवति ॥

17. The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time ending in a consonant or अ when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन follows.

The affixes तर् and तम् are called घ (I. 1. 22). Thus घः—पूर्वाहुतरे or पूर्वा-हुतेर, पूर्वाहुतम् or पूर्वाहुतम् ॥ कालः—पूर्वाहुकाले or पूर्वाहुकाले ॥ तनः—पूर्वाहुतने or पूर्वाहु-तन ॥ Why do we say 'after a time—name'? Observe शुद्धतरे, शुद्धतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥

As a general maxim, an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रथयमहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तवदे स्तवन्तस्य प्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word थ, अथ &c in VI. 2. 144 means a word ending in थ affix &c. But in this chapter, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरप्रवृण goes, an affix does not denote a word-form ending in that affix, on the following maxim : उत्तरपशाधिकारे प्रथयमहणे न तदन्तं प्रहणम् ; on the contrary the affix denotes its own-form. Thus तर, तम and तन here do not denote a word ending in these affixes. This rule we infer from the fact that in sūtra VI. 3. 50, the author declares “हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख, and the affixes यत्, अण्, and लास follow”. Had the affix अण् here meant the word-form ending in अण्; then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix. The word काल in the aphorism means the word-form काल ॥ See Sūtra IV. 3. 23 for the affix तन ॥

शयवासवासिष्वकालात् ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ शय, वास, वासिषु, अकालात्, (अलुक्) वृत्तिः ॥ शय वास वासिन् इत्येतेषु उत्तरप्रवृणकालवाच्यिन उत्तरस्या : सप्तम्या विभाषा अलुगम्बदति ॥

18. The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन् when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेशयः, or खेशः, आमवासः or आमवासः, आमवासिन् or आमवासिन् ॥ After a time-name we have पुर्वहृदयः ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशयः ॥

Vārt :-—The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when योनि, or the affix यत् or मतुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयोनिः, अप्सचयः, अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the विगारि class (अप्सु भवः, IV. 3. 54).

नेन्सिद्धवधातिषु च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इम्, सिद्ध, वधातिषु, च, (अलुक्) वृत्तिः ॥ इत्येते सिद्धशब्दे वधनातौ च परतः सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

19. The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from वध् ॥

Thus स्पष्टिङ्गलशायिन्, संक्राश्यसिद्धः, कम्पित्यसिद्धः, चक्रवन्धकः, चरकवन्धकः ॥ The compounding takes place by yoga-vibhāga of sūtra II. 1. 40. Some use the word चक्रवन्धः as an illustration under this rule: वन्ध then is derived by अन् of III. 1. 134. The वन्ध ending in अन् is governed by VI. 3. 13. This sūtra is an exception to VI. 3. 14.

स्थे च भाषायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थे, च, भाषायाम्, (न) (अलुक्) वृत्तिः ॥ स्थे चोत्तरपे भाषार्थां सप्तम्या अलुग्न भवति ॥

20. The Locative ending is not preserved before स्थ in the spoken language.

Thus विषमस्थः, कूटस्थः, पर्वतस्थः ॥ But आखेष्टः in the Veda, as in कृष्णोरक्षा-खेष्टः ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 106.

षष्ठ्या आकोशे ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठ्याः, आकोशे, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आकोशे गम्यमाने उत्तरपदे पष्ठया अलुभवति ॥
वार्त्तिकष ॥ षष्ठीप्रकरणे वाग् विक्षेपयैषो युन्निवृण्डहरेषु यथोसंख्यमलुभवत्यः ॥
वा० ॥ आमुच्यायणामुच्यपुच्चिकामुच्यकुलक्रेति चालुभवत्यः ॥
वा० ॥ देवानां प्रिय इत्यत्र च पष्ठया अलुग् वन्नत्यः ॥
वा० ॥ शेषपुच्छलाङ्गूलेषु शुनः भसंज्ञायां पष्ठया अलुभवत्यः ॥
वा० ॥ विवश दासे षष्ठया अलुभवत्यः ॥

21. The Genitive case affix is retained when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'.

Thus चौरस्थकुलम्, वृषलस्थकुलम् ॥ Why do we say when insult is meant? Observe आद्याणकुलम् ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after विश् before इष्ट, and after पश्यत् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्तिः, विशोइष्टः, पश्यतोहरः ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमुच्यायणः, आमुच्यपुच्चिका and आमुच्यकुलिका ॥ अमुच्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अस्म्, and is enumerated in the नडाहि class (IV. 1. 99) and takes फक् in forming the Patronymic, अमुच्यायणः=आमुच्यायणः, अमुच्यपुत्रस्थ भावः=आमुच्यपुच्चिका formed by बुझ (V. 1. 133) ॥ So also आमुच्यकुलिका ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रियः ॥ The author of Siddhânta Kaumudi says "when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devânâm-priya" There is no authority for this, either in the Mahâbhâshya or the Kâsikâ. This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it, had it meant 'a fool'. The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshit through Brahmanical spite.

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वर् when शेष, पुच्छ and लांघुल follow it :—शुनः शेषः, शुनः पुच्छः, शुनोलांघुलः ॥

Vārt :—The Genitive affix is not elided after विश् when दास follows : as दिवोदासः ॥

पुत्रे इन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुत्रे, अन्यतरस्याम्, (अलुक्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रशब्दउत्तरपदे आकोशे गम्यमाने इन्यतरस्यां पष्ठया अलुभवति ।

22. The genitive affix is optionally retained when insult is meant, when पुत्र follows. •

Thus दास्याः पुत्रः or दासपुत्रः, वृषल्याः पुत्रः, or वृषलीपुत्रः ॥ But when insult is not meant we have आद्याणपुत्रः ॥

ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतः, विद्या, योनि, सम्बन्धेभ्यः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तेभ्यो विद्यासम्बन्धवाच्चिभ्यो योनिसम्बन्धवाच्चिभ्यश्चोच्चरस्याः पृष्ठा अलुग्भवति ॥

23. The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in **ऋ** and expressing a relationship through study or blood.

Thus होतुर्नेत्रासिन्, होतुः पुत्रः, वितुर्नेत्रासिन् or पितुः पुत्रः ॥ Why do we say "a word ending in **ऋ**"? Observe आचार्यपुत्रः, भातुलपुत्रः ॥ The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound. Therefore, the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम्, होतृगृहम्, पितृगृहम् ॥

विभाषा स्वसूपत्योः ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, स्वसू, पत्योः, (अलुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसू पति इत्यत्योरुत्तरपत्योर्कारान्तेभ्यो विद्यार्थीनिसम्बन्धवाच्चिभ्यो विभाषा अलुग्भवति ॥

24. The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in **ऋ** when स्वसू and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Thus मातुःस्वसा or मातुःव्वसा or मातुव्वसा, पितुःस्वसा or पितुव्वसा or पितृव्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII, 3, 85; and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII, 3, 85). So also द्वितुः पति: or द्वित्वपति:, ननान्दुः पति: or ननान्दपति: ॥

आनङ्ग ऋतो द्वन्द्वे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनङ्ग, ऋतः, द्वन्द्वे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तानां विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाच्चिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्रोत्तरपते पूर्वपदस्थानडाइशो भवति ॥

25. In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short **ऋ** and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ्ग् is the substitute of the **ऋ** of the first member.

Thus होतापोतरो, नेष्टाहोतारो, प्रशास्तापातहर्तरो मातापितरो, याताननान्दरो ॥ The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I, 1, 51, by which a र comes after every simple vowel substitute of **ऋ** ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in **ऋ**'? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥ The anuvritti of पुत्र is understood here, so that the **ऋ** of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though it does not end in **ऋ**. As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवता द्वन्द्वे, च, (आनङ्ग) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवतावाच्चिनां यो द्वन्द्वस्तत्रोत्तरपते पूर्वपदस्थानडाइशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उभयत्र वायोः प्रतिवेद्यो वक्तव्यः ॥

26. The आनङ्ग् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devtās.

Thus इन्द्रावरुणौ, इन्द्रासोमौ, इन्द्रावृहिष्पती, मित्रावरुणौ ॥ The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvritti from the last, shows that

the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मजापनि, शिवदैश्वरणी ॥ In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases, whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वायवनी ॥

ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, अग्नेः, सोम, वरणयोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोम वरुण इत्येत्योर्द्वेष्टवताद्वन्द्वे इग्ने रीकारादेशो भवति ॥

27. For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva:

Thus अग्नीष्ठामौ, अग्नीवरुणौ ॥ The स is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 82,

इद्वृद्धौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, वृद्धौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतवृद्धावृत्तरपेद देवताद्वन्द्वे इग्नेस्तिकारादेशो भवति ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ इद्वृद्धौ विष्णोः प्रतिषेधो वस्तव्यः ॥

28. The short इ is the substitute of the final of अग्नि in such a Dvandva in which both members take the Vṛiddhi.

Thus आग्निवाहणी, which would have required long ई by the last rule: आग्निमारुतम्, which would have required आनह by VI. 3. 26. Thus आग्निवाहणी-मन्द्रादीभालभेत, आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रियेत ॥ आग्नीमरुतौ देवताऽस्य (IV. 2. 24), takes the Taddhita affix, and by VII. 3. 21, both members of the compound take Vṛiddhi. When both members do not take Vṛiddhi, the rule does not apply : as आग्नेन्द्रः (आग्न इन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vṛiddhi, by VII. 3. 22.

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows : as आग्नवैष्णवं चर्ह निर्विष्ट ॥

दिवो द्यावा ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, द्यावा, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विविद्येतस्य द्यावा इत्यथमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपेद ॥

29. For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names, of the Devatās.

Thus द्यावाक्षामा, द्यावाभूमी ॥

दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवसः, च, पृथिव्याम्, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृथिव्यामुत्तरपेद देवताद्वन्द्वे दिवो विविद्येत्यमादेशो भवति चकाराद् द्यावा च ॥

30. For दिव् is also substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatas.

Thus दिवसपृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the apophysis as दिवस ending in ः, in order to indicate that the ः of दिवस् is not changed to ॑ or a visarga or upadhamaniya when followed by पृथिवी ॥ Following is an

anomalous use there being no Dvandva compounding here. यावा चिदसै पृथिवी
नमते ॥

उषासोपसः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उषासा, उषसः, (देवताद्वन्द्वे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उषस उषासा इत्यमादेशो भवति देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे ॥

31. For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatâ-dvandva.

Thus :—उषासासूयम्, उषासानक्ता ॥

मातरपितराद्वीचाम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातर, पितरौ, उदीचाम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मातरपितरावित्युक्तीचामाचायणां मतेनारडादेशो मातृशब्दस्य निपात्यते ॥

32. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरड substitution of the ऋ of मातृ ॥ The other form is मातपितरै ॥

पितरामातरा च छन्दसि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितरा, मातरा, च, छन्दसि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पितरामातरा इति छन्दसि निपात्यते ॥

33. In the Vedas the form पितरामातरा is valid.

In the ordinary language मातापितरौ is the proper form. The Vedic form is derived by adding अरड to the first member, and आ is added to the second by VII. 1. 39 : and then Guna by VII. 3. 110. Thus आ मा गन्तां पितरा-मातरा च ॥

स्त्रियाः पुंचन्द्राषितपुंस्कादनूड़, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, पुम्बत्, भाषितपुंस्कात्, अनूड़, समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियाम्, अपूरणी,
प्रियादिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषितपुंस्कादनूड़ः स्त्रीशब्दस्य पुंशब्दस्येव रूपं भवति समानाधिकरणउत्तरपदे स्त्रीलिङ्गे पूरणीप्रिया-
रिवर्जितं ॥

34. In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊड़, and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it; but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c.

The words of this sûtra require a detailed analysis ; स्त्रिया: 'for a semi-nipe word', पुम्बत् "like the masculine", i. e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word. भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i. e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspond-

ence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आयाम) of the two words; that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation, applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुस्कारनूङ् स्त्रीशब्दः ॥ The word भाषितपुस्कारनूङ् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously. Of such a भाषितपुस्कारनूङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a (समानाधिकरण) i. e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender: with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरण) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus दर्शनीयभार्यः (= दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्थ). Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीयः; moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix आ ; it is followed by another feminine word भार्य which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class; hence this word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also इलक्षणचूडः, सीर्वजइघः ॥ Why do we say स्त्रिया: 'for a feminine word'? Observe भासणि ब्राह्मणकुले दृष्टिरस्य = भासणिर्दृष्टिः ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine (भाषितपुस्कः) ? Observe खद्वाभार्यः ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of खद्वा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानाधाराकृतौ"? Observe द्वोणीभार्यः, the masculine word द्वोण has not the same significance as द्वोणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्यः, प्रसूतभार्यः, and प्रजातभार्यः are anomalous. Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe लक्ष्मवन्धुभार्यः ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यामाता = कल्याणीमाता "the mother of Kalyāṇi". Why do we say अन्नाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधानमेषां = कल्याणीप्रधानाः (इम) ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word. Why do we say 'not being an ordinal Numeral'? Observe कल्याणी पञ्चमी शासनातः = कल्याणी पञ्चमारात्रयः, so also कल्याणीदशमाः ॥ The Ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals. Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीकः पक्षः ॥ The samāṣānta affix अष् (V. 4. 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as a secondary word : and therefore the above compound does not take अष् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c. Observe कल्याणीप्रियः ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोजा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा, 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्ता (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 कान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वामा) 15 तनया, 16 अभ्या ॥ The compound दृढभक्तिः is anomalous.

तसिलादिप्राकृत्वसुचः ॥ ३५ ॥ पद्मानि ॥ तंसिलादिषु, आकृत्वसुचः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यास्तसिलित्यतः प्रधृति संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुजिति प्राग्ननस्माद् ये प्रत्यया-
स्त्रेषु भाषितपुस्कारनूङ् स्त्रियाः पुंवद्रवति ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ शसि बहुल्पार्थस्य पुंवद्वावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ न्वतलोर्गुणवच्चनस्य पुंवद्वावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ भस्यांठ तद्विनं पुंवद्वावो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ उक्तुसोष्ठ पुंवद्वावो वक्तव्यः ॥

35. A feminine word not ending in the affix and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form, before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c (V. 3. 7) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17)

Thus तस्या: शालाया: = ततः, तस्यां = तत्र, यस्यां = यत्र, यस्या = यतः ॥ The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine: अ and तस्, तरप् and तमप्, चरद्, जातीयर्, कल्पप्, देश्य, देशीयर् रूपप्, पाशप्, थम्, थाल् वा and हिं तिल् तातिल् ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender. Thus तरप् तमप् &c इश्वनीयतरा, इश्वनीयतमा, पटुचरी, पटुजातीया, इश्वनीयकल्पा, इश्वनीयदेशीया, इश्वनीयरूपा, इश्वनीयपाशा ॥ कथा प्रकृत्या = कथम्, यथा प्रकृत्या = यथा, तस्यां वेलाया = तदां, तर्हि &c.

Vart:—The feminine of बहु and अल्प is changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस्:—as बहुभ्यो देहि = बहुशो देहि; अल्पभ्यो देहि = अल्पशो देहि ॥

Vart:—A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine before the affixes त्व and तल् ॥ As पदव्या भावः = पदव्यम् or पदता ॥ Why do we say ‘an adjective’? Observe कथा भावः = कण्डीत्वं or कठीता ॥

Vart: The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes, except ठ, when the word gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus इस्तिनिनिं समूहः = हास्तिकम् ॥ Had the word not become masculine, then इस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI. 4. 148), the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being sthānivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI. 4. 144, ordaining the elision of the final syllable. So the form would have been something like हास्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say ‘with the exception of ठ’? Observe इयैनेयः, रौद्रिनेयः the masculine being इयेत and रोहित ॥ The word आग्नेयः (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थानीपाकस्य) is an exception to this rule.

Vart:—The masculine-change takes place before the affixes उक् and छस् ॥ As भवत्या श्लाघा = भावत्काः, भवशीयाः ॥

क्यद्मानिनोश्च॑॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यद्, मानिनोः, च, ॥
वृत्तः ॥ क्यद्भ परतो मानिनि च द्विया भाषितपुंस्काद्वृद् पुंवद्वति ॥

36. A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed into masculine before the Denominative क्यद्, and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतावते, इयेनी—इयेतायते ॥ मानिन्:—इश्वनीयमानी अयमस्या: “He esteems her as handsome”. इश्वनीयमानिनीयमस्या: (इयम् अस्या: “She esteems her as handsome”). The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words:—इश्वनीयां, मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तां =

इर्शनीयमानी॥ अथमस्याः ॥ For non-appositional words :—as, इर्शनीयां मन्थते वैष्णवां यज्ञ-
दत्ता = इर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्याः ॥

न कोपधायाः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोपधायाः स्थियाः पुंवद्गावो न भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कोपधर्मतेष्ये तु तद्वित्तप्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

37. A Feminine word having a penultimate क, does not assume the Masculine form.

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, कारिकाभार्यः, वृजिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकाकल्पा, मद्रिकायते ॥ वृजिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी, वृजिकामानिनी, वैलेपिक (वैलेपिकाथा धर्म्य). This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI. 3. 34—36 : and not only to VI. 3. 34.

Vārti :—The rule applies to the क of the affix तु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः, भेकभार्यः ॥ The word पाका means "young"; and भेका means 'action'.

संज्ञापूरण्योक्त्वा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञा, पूरण्योः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाः पूरण्याश्च स्थियाः पुंवद्गावो न भवति ॥

38. The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus इन्द्राभार्यः । गुप्ताभार्यः । इन्नापाशा । गुप्तापाशा । इन्नायते । गुप्तायते । इन्द्रामानिनी । गुप्तामानिनी । पूरण्याः । पञ्चमीभार्यः । इन्द्रमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा । पञ्चमीपाशा । पञ्चमीयते । इन्द्रमीयते । पञ्चमीमानिनी । इन्द्रमीमानिनी ॥

वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्वित्तस्यारक्तविकारे ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य, च, तद्वित्तस्य, अरक्तविकारे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिनिमित्तस्ताद्वतः स यदि रक्तयेऽविकारे च न विहितः, तद्वित्तस्य स्त्रीशब्दस्य न पुंवद्गति ॥

39. The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix, which causes the Vriddhi of the first syllable, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'coloured therewith', and 'made there of'.

Thus स्त्रीभार्यः, माथुरीभार्यः, स्त्रीनीपाशा, माथुरीपाशा; स्त्रीनीयते, माथुरीयते, स्त्रीनीमानिनी and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vriddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्यः (मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV. 3. 8 which does not cause Vriddhi). Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डतावभार्यः (काण्डं लुनाति = काण्डलाति with अण् (क्रमण्यण्) and डीप्). Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made thereof'? Observe कषायेण रत्ना = कषायी, कषायीऽवृहतिकाद्यत्वा — कषायवृहतिकः, लोहस्य विकारोलौही लौही ईषा अथ रथस्य = लौहेषः (IV. 3. 134). The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i. e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण or श or क &c which causes

Vriddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावद्वार्यः यावक्षार्यः (तावती भार्या यस्य &c). Here the affix व्रुत् V. 2. 39 added to तद् does not cause Vriddhi by its own force, but by VI. 3. 91.

स्वाङ्गाद्वेतो अमानिनि ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गत्, च, इतः, अमानिनि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाङ्गादुन्नरो व ईकारस्तरन्नाया ख्यया न पुंवद्वशति अमानिनि परतः ॥

40. A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine, except when the word मानिन् follows.

Thus शीर्षकेशीभार्यः, शुक्रोशीभार्यः, हीर्षकेशीपाशा, श्लश्णकेशीपाशा, शीर्षकेशीयते, श्लश्णकेशीयते, but पटभार्यः (पटु not denoting any bodily member), अकेशभार्यः (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई), and वृष्ट्रकेशमानिनी ॥ The exception अमानिनि has been added from the Vārtika and is no part of the original sūtra.

जातेश्व ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, च, (न) (अमानिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातेश्व ख्यया न पुंवद्वशति अमानिनि परतः ॥

41. A feminine noun expressing a class or kind does not become masculine.

Thus कठीभार्यः, बहूच्छीभार्यः कठीपाशा, बहूच्छीपाशा, कठीयते, बहूच्छीयते ॥ But not so when मानिन् follows, as कठमानिनी, बहूच्छमानिनी ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तीनां समूहः = हस्तिकम् ॥

पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुम्बत्, कर्मधारय, जातीय, देशीयेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मधारये समासे जातीय देशीय इत्यतयोश्च प्रत्यययोर्भाषितपुंस्कादनन्दद्विद्या पुंवद्वति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ कुक्कुच्छार्दीनामण्डादिषु पुंवद्वावा वन्नव्यः ॥

42. The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras. Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI. 3. 37). Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, प्राचकेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI. 3. 38. Thus इत्तवृन्दारिका, इत्तजातीया, इत्तदेशीया, पंचवृन्दारिका, पंचमजातीया, पंचमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI. 3. 39 : स्नानवृन्दारिका, स्नानजातीया, स्नानदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 40, as श्लश्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लश्णमुखजातीया and श्लश्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI. 3. 41, as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भावितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply खद्वावृन्दारिका, as खद्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ ; as ब्रह्मवृन्दूवृन्दारिका ॥

Vart :—The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c : as, कुक्कुच्छा अण्ड = कुक्कुटाण्डन् ॥ मृग्या:पृदं = मृग्यापृदम्, मृग्याःशीरं = मृग्याशीरम्, क्राक्याः शावः = क्राकः

शास्त्रः ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

Vart:—When a word formed by an affix having an indicatory ए, or the affixes तर and तम &c (VI. 3. 43) follow, the final long vowel of the first term becomes short instead of its becoming masculine. As कालीमात्मानं मन्यते काल्येवाहम् = कालिमन्या (compare VI. 3. 66) हरिणिमन्या, पट्टितरा, पट्टितमा, पट्टिरूपा, पट्टिकरूपा, पट्टिका, मृद्गिका ॥ We have said that the rule does not apply to the feminines in ऊ ॥ The words इडविद्, सरद्, पृथ उद्धिज are names of countries denoting Kshatriya clans. The tadrâja affix (VI. I. 168 and 170), is elided in forming the feminine of these (IV. I. 177). Thus we have the compound of इडविद् वृन्दारिका ॥ When the first words become masculine, we have ऐडविड्, सरद्, &c. Thus ऐडविडवृन्दारिका, भोगिजवृन्दारिका ॥

घरुपकल्पचेलडबुवगोत्रमतहंतेषु उच्चोऽनेकाचो हस्तः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ, रूप, कल्प, चेलड्, बुव, गोत्र, मत, हतेषु, उच्चः, अनेकाचः, हस्तः, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ घ रूप कल्प चेलड् बुव, गोत्र मत हत इत्येतेषु परतो भाषितपुस्कात्परो यो डीप्रत्ययस्तश्तस्याने काचो हस्तो भवति ॥

43. Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, before चेल (with the feminine in ई), बुव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix डी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिबुवा ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहना ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलड् &c are words as second members; बुवः is formed by अन् (III. I. 134) added to शु, guṇa and वच substitution being prevented anomalously. Why do we say ending in ई (डी)? Observe इत्तातरा, युमातरा ॥ Why do we say consisting of more than one syllable? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule. Why do we say having a corresponding masculine? Observe आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली have no equivalent masculine forms.

नद्याः शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याः, शेषस्य, अन्यतंरस्याम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ नद्याः शेषस्य घातिषु परतो हस्तो भवति अन्यतंरस्याम् । कश्च शेषः । अडा च या नसी इष्वत्त च यदेकाच् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कुत्रियाः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. In all the remaining feminine words called Nadī (I. 4. 3 and 4), the substitution of short vowel under the preceding circumstances is optional.

What are the शेष or the remnants? Those feminines which are, not formed by long ई (डी), and are called Nadi; and those feminines which end-in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मवन्धुतरा or ब्रह्मवन्धुतरा वीरवधूतरा or वीरवन्धुतरा, वितरा or वीतरा, वितमा or वीतमा ॥

Vart:—Nadi words formed by कृत् affixes are excepted: as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्त्रीतरा formed by the Uṇādi affix ई (Uṇ. III. 158, 160)

उगितश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, (हस्तः) (अन्यतरस्यां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उगितश्च परस्या नवा घासिषु अन्यतरस्यां हस्तो भवति ॥

45. The feminine ई (डी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before the ग्र &c (VI. 3. 43).

Thus अथसितरा or अथसीतरा, or अयस्तरा, विदुषितरा or विदुषीतरा or विहृतरा ॥ The first is formed by the Taddhita affix ईयसुन्, and the second by कृसु ॥ In one alternative, there is masculisation also when we get the forms अयस्तरा &c. Or this latter form may be considered to have been evolved from अयस्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix, in denoting a feminine.

आन्महतः समानाधिकरणजातीययोः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्, महतः, समानाधिकरण, जातीययोः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानाधिकरणउत्तरपंचे जातीये च प्रत्यये परनो महत भाकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महवात्वे घासकरात्मीशिष्टपूर्पसंख्यानं पुवद्वचनं चासमानाधिकरणार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ अष्टनः कपाले हविश्चुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ गवि च युक्ते इष्टन उपसंख्यान कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

46. For the final of महत्, is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महेत्वः, महाब्राह्मणः, महाब्राह्मः, महाबलः, महाजातियः ॥ But महतः पुत्रः = महत्पुत्रः “the son of the great man”: the two words are not in apposition. The compounding with महत् takes place under II. 1. 61. This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाब्राह्मः ॥ In fact this is the object of using the word samānādhikarana in this sūtra. Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurasha compounds of mahat taught under II. 1. 61 but not to Bahuvrihis. In महत्प्रभूतप्रन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् संपत्तः, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary.

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition. As महत्या घासः = महाघासः, महत्या करः = महाकरः, महत्याविशिष्टः = महाविशिष्टः ॥

Vart:—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant. As अष्टकपालं च ह निर्विपेत ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपालं ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vart :—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked'. As, अष्टागवेन शक्तेन ॥ But अष्टगं आद्याजस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in आत् is for the sake of distinctness.

द्वयष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वयष्टनः, संख्यायाम, अबहुव्रीहि, अशीत्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हि अष्टन् इत्येतत्योराकारादेशो भवति संख्यायामसुन्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥ वाच्चिकम् ॥ प्राक् शताविति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows, but 'not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादशा, द्वाद्विशति, द्वात्रिंशत्, अटाद्श, अटाविशति, अटात्रिंशत् ॥ Why do we say हि and अष्टन्? Observe पञ्चश्श ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Numeral'? Observe द्वै मातुरः, अष्टमातुरः ॥ Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्वित्राः, त्रिशाः, द्व्यशीति ॥

Vart :—This rule applies upto one hundred. Therefore not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम्, अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

त्रेस्त्रयः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, त्रयस्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रि इत्येतस्य त्रयमित्ययमादेशो भवति संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः ॥

48. For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीतिः ॥

As, त्रयोदशा, त्रयोविशति, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रैमातुरः (the second word not being a Numeral), nor in त्रिशाः which is a Bahuvrīhi, (II. 2. 25) उत्त्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred : not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, चत्वारिंशत्, प्रभृतौ, सर्वेषाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ संख्यायामसुन्तरपदे अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः सर्वेषां द्व्यष्टन् त्रि इत्येतेषां यदुक्तं तद्विभाषा भवति ॥

49. The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member.

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत्, त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रयपञ्चाशत्, अष्टपञ्चाशत् or अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This also before hundred : as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम्, त्रिशतम् ॥

हृदयस्य हृलेखयदणलासेषु ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य, हृत्, लेख, यत्, अण्, लासे षु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्य हृदित्ययमादेशो भवति लेख यत् अण् लासे हृतेषु परतः ॥

50. हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख, and the affixes यत् and अण् and before लास ॥

Thus हृश्यं लिखाते = हृक्षेयः, हृश्यस्य मिथं = हृश्यम्, हृश्यस्येवम् = हृश्यम्, हृश्यस्य लासो = हृश्यासः ॥ The word लेख is derived by अण् affix from लिख ॥ Before the word लेख formed by घञ् affix, this substitution does not take place, as हृश्यलेखः ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “हृश्यप्रसाधिकारे प्रत्ययप्रवर्णने न सदन्तयहणम्” ॥ See VI. 3. 17.

वा शोकस्यअरोगेषु ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, शोक, व्यज्, रोगेषु ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ शोक व्यज् रोग इत्येतेषु परतो हृश्यस्य वा हृश्यमादेशो भवति ॥

51. हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix व्यञ् follows.

Thus हृश्लोकः or हृश्यशोकः, सौहार्द्यम् or सौहृश्यम् ॥ Here व्यञ् is added as हृश्य belongs to Brāhmaṇādi class V. 1. 124. When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members सु and ह् by VII. 3. 19. So also हृश्लोगः or हृश्यरोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृत् which is a full word sui generis, having the same meaning as हृश्यः ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary.

पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादस्य, पत्, आजि, आति, ग, उपहतेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादस्य पत् इत्ययमादेशो भवति आजि आति ग उपहत् इत्येतेषुत्तरप्रवर्णेषु ॥

52. पद् is substituted for पाद, before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पशाजिः = पाशभ्यामज्ञति ; पशातिः = पाशभ्यामतति ॥ भार्जिः and आतिः are formed by इण् from अञ् and अत् (Un. IV. 131), and irregularly अञ् is not changed to वी though required by II. 4. 56 ; before this affix. So also पशगः = पाशभ्यां गच्छति ; पशेपहतः = पाशनोपहतः ॥ पाद् belongs to Vṛishādi class (VI. 1. 203) and has therefore acute on the first syllable, the पद् substitute however has acute on the final, only in the उपवेश (VI. 1. 171), therefore in पशेपहतः, पद् retains its accent (VI. 2. 48), and it becomes acute on the final. While पशाजिः, पशातिः and पशगः have acute on the final (VI. 1. 223 and kṛit-accent).

पद्यत्यतदर्थे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद्, चति, अतदर्थे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथ्यत्यथे परतः पादस्य परित्ययमादेशो भवत्यतदर्थे ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ पद्यते इके चंत्रतातुपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत् used in any sense other than that of “suited there to.”

Thus पाशैविध्यन्ति = पश्याः शर्कराः, पश्याः कण्टकाः ॥ When यत् has the force of “suited there to” we have पाशम् = पाशर्थसुवृक् ॥ (see IV. 4. 83 and V. 4. 25).

Vart:—Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद; as पौशभ्यां चरति = पदिकः (IV. 4. 10) by इक् affix. The word पाद in this sūtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V. I. 34, as हिपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद here denotes 'a measure'.

हिमकाषिहतिषु च ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हिम, काषि, हतिषु, च, (पद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हिम काषिने हति इत्येतेषु पादशब्दस्य पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

54. पद् is substituted for पाद before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्धिमम्, (=पादस्य शीतं) पद्मकाषिन् (=पादचारिणः) as in अथ पद्मकाषिणा यान्ति, and पद्धतिः (पादभ्यां हन्त्यते) ॥

ऋचः शे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचः, शे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋक्संबन्धिनः पादशब्दस्य शे परतः पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

55. पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik).

Thus पच्छो गायत्री शंसाति = पादं पादं शंसाति, the affix शस् being added by V. 4. 43. Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादशः कार्षणिणं रक्षाति ॥

वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, घोष, मिश्र, शब्देषु, (पद्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ घोष मिश्र शब्द इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु पादस्य वा पदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निष्क्रियते वक्तव्यम् ॥

56. This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पदघोषः or पादघोषः, पद्मिश्रः or पादमिश्रः, पद्धशः or पादशब्दः ॥

Vart:—So also before निष्क्रियः as पन्निष्क्रियः or पादनिष्क्रियः ॥

उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदकस्य, उदः, संज्ञायाम् (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उदकशब्दस्य संज्ञायां विशये उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति उत्तरपदं परतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संज्ञायामुत्तरपदस्य उदकशब्दस्य उदादेशो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

57. उद् is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name.

Thus उदमेघः 'a person called Udamegha', उदवाहः "a person named Uda-vāhah." The well-known Patronymics from these are औदमेघिः and औदवाहिः ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a Name'? Observe उदकर्णिदः ॥

Vart—उद् is the substitute for उदक when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name: as, लोकहिनोदः, नीलोदः, श्रीरोदः ॥

पेषंवासवाहनधिषु च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पेषम्, वास, वाहन, धिषु, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पेषं वास वाहन धि इत्येतेषु चोत्तरपदेषु उदकस्य उद इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

58. उद् is substituted for उदक before पेषं, वास, वाहन, and धि ॥

Thus उदपेषं पिनष्टि formed by जमूल् by III. 4. 38; उदधासः = उदकस्थधासः, so also उदधाहनः ॥ उदकं धीयतऽस्मिन् = उरधिः 'a water jar'.

एकहलादौ पूरयितव्ये अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक, हलादौ, पूरयितव्ये, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ हल् आदिर्यस्योन्नरपश्य तरेकहलादिस्तस्मिन्नेकहलादौ पूरयितव्यधासाधिन्यन्यतरस्यामुदकस्य उद्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

59. उद् is optionally substituted for उदक, before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water.

Thus उदकुम्भः, or उदककुम्भः, उदपात्रम् or उदकपात्रम् ॥ The word एकहलादि means 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'. The rule does not apply to उदकस्थालम् as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant: nor to उदकपवर्तः, as the पवर्तः is not a vessel which is to be filled.

मन्थौदनसकुविन्दुवज्जभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्थ, ओदन, सकु, विन्दु, वज्ज, भार, हार, वीवध, गाहेषु, च, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ मन्थ ओदन सकु विन्दु वज्ज भार हार वीवध गाह इत्येतेषु उदकपवर्तस्य उद्यथमादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

60. उद् is optionally substituted for उदक, before मन्थ, ओदन, सकु, विन्दु, वज्ज, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उदकेन मन्थः = उदमन्थ or उदकमन्थः । उदकेनैवन, उदैवनः or उदकोदनः । सक्तु । उदकेन सक्तुः, उदसक्तुः or उदकसक्तुः । विन्दु । उदकस्थ विन्दुः, उदविन्दुः or उदकविन्दुः । वज्ज । उदकस्थ वज्जः, उदवज्जः or उदकवज्जः । भार । उदकं विभर्तीति उदभारः or उदकभारः । हार । उदकं हरतीति, उद्हारः or उदकहारः । वीवध । उदकस्थ वीवध, उदवीवधः or उदकवीवधः । गाह । उदकं गाहत इति, उदगाहः or उदकगाहः ॥

इको हस्तोऽङ्गयो गालवस्य ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, हस्यः, अङ्गः, गालवस्य, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तस्याङ्गत्तस्योन्नरपेषु हस्तोऽभवति गालवस्याचार्यस्य मतेनान्यतरस्याम् ॥ वार्तीकम् ॥ झूकुसार्दीनामङ्गारां भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

61. According to the opinion of Gâlava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second member, for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ঢী).

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ঢী) and for ऊ, a short इ and उ are substituted in a compound before the second member. Thus मामणिपुञ्चः or मामणीपुञ्चः, ब्रह्मवन्धुपुञ्चः or ब्रह्मवन्धुপुञ्चः ॥ Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe खट्टपाडः, मालपाठः ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ई'? Observe मार्गीपुञ्चः, वासीपुञ्चः ॥ The name of Gâlava is mentioned pujârtha for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sûtra. It is a limited option

pujārtha, (vyavasthita vibhāsha), and does not apply to कारीषमन्धीपति &c which are governed by VI. 3. 139.

Vart:—It does not apply to Avyayibhāva, compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उयङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीकुलम्, भूकुलम्, काण्डीभूतम्, कुडीभूतं, वृषलीभूतम् ॥

Vart:—It does however apply to भुक्तं &c, as भुक्तसः, भुकुटिः ॥ Others say अ is substituted for भ & c as भक्तसः and भक्तुटिः

एक तद्विते च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक तद्विते, च, (हस्यः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ एकवाद्यत्य तद्विते उत्तरपदे हस्यो भवति ॥

62. The short is substituted for the long of एका before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows.

As एकस्या भावत = एकस्प्यम्, एकमयम्, एकस्था भावं = एकत्वम्, एकता ॥ So also एकस्था: क्षीरं = एकक्षीरम्, एकदुधम् ॥ The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका, having the affix शा ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI. 3. 35, i. e. when एक means the numeral one. But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply. The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case-affix as a Chhandas irregularity. The examples given are of एका in the feminine which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short. Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the *final* letter, and not to a vowel situated in the body of a word.

उद्यापोः संज्ञालृत्सोर्बहुलम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्यापोः, संज्ञा, छम्दसोः, वहुलम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उद्यन्तस्यावन्तस्य च संज्ञालृत्सोर्बहुलं हस्यो भवति ॥

63. The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ऊं and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas.

As रेतिपुत्रः, रोहिणिपुत्रः, भरणितुत्रः ॥ Sometimes not, as मान्दीकरः, नान्दीवेषः, नान्दीविशालः ॥ So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिशरा, प्रश्विदा; sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फालयुनीर्णमासी, जगतीलृतः ॥ आप् ending words in Name: शिलवहम्, शिलप्रस्थम्; sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लूमकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas:—अजाक्षीरणं जुहोति, ऊर्णघरा पृथिवीं विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूचेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

त्वे च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्वे, च, (हस्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्वप्रत्यये परतो उद्यापोर्बहुलं हस्यो भवति ॥

64. The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भावः = अजात्वं or अजात्वं, रोहिणीत्वं or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥ These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्ट का, इषी का, माला-नाम, चित, तूल, भारिषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टकेषीकामालानां चित तूल भारिन् इत्येतेषु उत्तरपदेषु यथासंख्य हस्तो भवति ॥

65. For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिन् ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इषीकतूलम्, and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c, so that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule : as पक्षेष्टकचितम्, मुञ्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

खित्यनव्ययस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ खिति, अनव्ययस्य, (हस्तः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खिदन्तउत्तरपदे उनव्ययस्य हस्तो भवति ॥

66. A short is always substituted for the final of the first member, when the second member is a word formed by an affix having an indicatory ख, but not when the first member is an Indeclinable.

Thus कालिमन्या, विशिष्मन्या ॥ The augment सुम् does not prevent the shortening, had it done so, the rule would have been unnecessary. But शोषा-मन्यमहः, विवामन्यारात्रिः, where शोषा and विवा are Indeclinables there is no shortening. The above words are formed by खण् (III. 2. 83). The phrase अनव्ययस्य indicates by implication that the word खित् here means खिदन्तः, contrary to the maxim enunciated in VI. 3. 17 उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्यग्महणे तदन्तविधिर्नेत्यते ॥ For an Avyaya can never take a खित् affix which are ordained only after dhātus.

अरुद्विष्ठदजन्तस्य मुम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरुस्, द्विष्ठत्, अजन्तस्य, मुम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अरुस् द्विष्ठत् इत्येतयोरजन्तानां च खिदन्तउत्तरपदे मुमागमां भवति अनव्ययस्य ॥

67. मुम् is the augment added immediately after the final vowel, of अरुस्, द्विष्ठत्, and of a stem ending in a vowel, unless it is an Indeclinable, when a word formed by a खित् affix follows.

Thus अरुन्तुः, द्विष्ठन्तः, कालिमन्या &c. See III. 2. 35, 39, 83. The स् of अरुस् and the त् of द्विष्ठत् are dropped by VIII. 2. 23.

Why do we say 'of अरुस् &c'? Observe विद्वन्मन्या ॥ Why do we say 'not an Indeclinable'? Observe शोषामन्यमहः, विवामन्यारात्रिः ॥ Why do we use the word अन्त in अजन्त, when merely saying अचः would have sufficed by the rule of tadanta-vidhi? This indicates that the shortening taught in the preceding sūtra does not debar the सुम् augment, nor does सुम् debar the shortening. So that सुम् is added after the shortening has taken place.

इच पकाचोमपत्ययवश ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ इचः, पकाचः, अम्, प्रत्ययवत्, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इजन्तस्य एकाचः खिदन्तउत्तरपदे मुमागमो भवति अमपत्ययवशहितायैकवचनवश स भवति ॥

68. A monosyllabic word, ending in any vowel other than अ, when followed by a word formed by a वित् affix, receives the augment अम्, which is added in the same way as the affix अम् of the Accusative singular.

The word अम् is to be repeated here thus, इच्च एकाचोऽम्, अमप्रत्ययवद् । Thus गांमन्यः, र्णीमन्यः, or स्त्रीमन्यः, श्रियमन्यः, भूवंमन्यः ॥ By force of the atideśa अमप्रत्ययवत्, the changes produced by the Accusative ending are caused by this augment also : viz : the substitution of long आ, the substitution of a vowel homogenous with the first, the guṇa, the substitutes इयङ् and उवङ्. As आ—गां मन्यः (VI. 1. 93); पूर्वसर्वण as स्त्रीमन्यः (VI. 1. 107); guṇa, as,—नरमन्यः (VII. 3. 110) and इयङ् and उवङ्, as श्रियमन्यः, भूवंमन्यः (VI. 4. 81 &c.). Why do we say ending in a vowel other than अ (इच्च)? Observe त्वन्मन्यः ॥ Why do we say 'a monosyllable'? Observe लेखाभुं मन्या ॥

The affix अम् is elided after a Neuter noun (VII. 1. 23), therefore, will this अम् also be elided when श्री is treated as Neuter? As श्रियमात्मानं मन्यते आद्यानकुलं = श्रियमन्यम् or श्रिमन्यम्? The second is the valid form according to Patanjali.

वाच्यमपुरंदरौ च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाच्यम्, पुरन्दरौ, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ वाच्यम् पुरंदर इत्येतां निपातेते ॥

69. वाच्यम् and पुरन्दर are irregularly formed.

Thus वाच्यमः आस्ते (III. 2. 40 खच् affix). पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः (III. 2. 42). The shortening of आम् and दार takes place by VI. 4. 94.

कारे सत्यागदस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ कारे, सत्य, अगदस्य, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ काराद्विद्वन्नरपे सत्य अगद इत्येत्योर्मुमागमो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अस्तु सत्यागदस्य काराहति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ भक्षस्य छन्दासि कारे मुम वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ धेनोर्भव्यायां मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ लोकस्य पृष्ठे मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ इत्येऽनभ्यासास्य मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ऋष्ट्राग्न्योर्भिर्मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ गिले ऽग्निलस्य मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ गिलगिलं चांत वक्तव्यम् ॥
वा० ॥ उष्णभ्रह्योः करणे मुम्बन्तव्यः ॥ सुतोभराजो जोर्मवित्येत्येत्य उत्तरस्य दुहितशब्दस्य पुरुषादेशो वा वक्तव्यः ॥

70. मुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यकारः = सत्यकरोति or सत्यस्यकारः ॥ So also अगदकारः ॥

Vārt :—So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुकारः ॥

Vārt :—So also in Vedas, of भक्ष before कारः—e. g. भूक्षकार, in secular language भक्षकारः ॥

Vārt :—Of धेनु before भव्या, e. g. धेनुभव्या ॥

Vārt :—Of लोक before पृष्ठ, e. g. लोकपृष्ठा ॥

Vart :—Of अनभ्याश before इत्य as अनभ्याशमित्यः ॥

Vart :—Of भ्रष्ट and अग्नि, before इत्यः, as भ्रष्टमित्यः, अग्निमित्यः ॥

Vart :—A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e. g. तिर्मङ्गलः, but गिलगिलः ॥

Vart :—So also before गिलगिल, e. g. तिर्मङ्गलगिलः ॥

Vart :—Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e. g. उष्णं करणं, भद्रं करणं ॥

Vart :—पुत्रइ् is optionally the substitute of दुहित् when the words सूत, उम, राज, भोज, and मेरु precede it e. g. सूतपुत्री or सूतदुहिता, उमपुत्री or उमदुहिता, राजपुत्री or राजदुहिता, भोजपुत्री or भोजदुहिता, मेरुपुत्री or मेरुदुहिता ॥ Some read पुत्र in the Sārangaravādi class (IV. 1. 73), and then this word has its feminine पुत्री ॥ This is seen in other places also, e. g. शैलपुत्री ॥

इयेनतिलस्य पाते जे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इयेन, तिलस्य. पाते, जे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयेन तिलइत्येतयोः पातशब्दउत्तरपदे भप्रत्यये ममागमो भवति ॥

71. मुम् is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix जे is added.

Thus इयेनपाताऽस्थां कीडायां = इयेनपाता, तैलपाता ॥ See IV. 2. 58. Why do we say before जे ? Observe इयेनपातः ॥

रात्रेः कृति विभाषा ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, कृति, विभाषा, (मुम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रात्रेः कृत्वत्तउत्तरपदे विभाषा मुमागमो भवति ॥

72. The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix.

As रात्रिचरः or रात्रिचर, रात्रिस्तः or रात्र्यथः ॥ This is an aprāpta-vibhāshā. The augment is compulsory before a kṛit-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिचमन्यः ॥

नलोपो नञ्चः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लोपः, नञ्चः, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नञ्चो नकारस्य लोपो भवत्युत्तरपदे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नञ्चो नलोपो उत्तरपदे निङ्गयुपसंख्यानम् ॥

The न of the Negative particle नञ्च, is elided when it is the first member of a compound.

Thus अब्राह्मणः, अवृष्टलः, असुग्रपः, असोमपः ॥

Vart :—The न of नञ्च is elided before a verb also, when reproach is meant : as, अपचयि त्वं जात्मः, अकरोयि त्वं जात्मः ॥

तस्मान्तुडचि ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, तुड्, अचि, (उत्तरपदे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्माल्लुमनकारात्रञ्चः तुडागमो भवति अजाशाबुत्तरपदे ॥

74. After the above न-elided नञ्च (i. e. after अ) is added the augment तुड्, to a word beginning with a vowel.

Thus अनजः, अनशः, अनुष्टः ॥ Why do we use तस्मात् “after such a नञ्च” ? Otherwise तुड् would have been the augment of नञ्च, and not of the subsequent

word for: the sūtra would have read thus तुडाचि ॥ Adding अ or न च or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that तुड् is not to be added *before* it but *after* it, against I. 1. 46). Now अन्+अजः will be अन्नजः and not अनजः for VIII. 3. 32 will cause the doubling of the final न of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, तुड् is ordained with regard to the second member and not with regard to अ or न च ॥

नभ्राणनपान्नवेदानासत्या नमुच्चिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्षनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ॥ ७५ ॥
पदानि ॥ नभ्राद्, नपात्, नवेदा, नासत्या, नमुच्चि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्ष,
नाकेषु, प्रकृत्या, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नभाद् नपात् नवेशः नासत्या नमुच्चि नकुल नख नयुसकं नक्षत्रं नख नक नाक इत्येतेषु नम् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in

75. The Negative particle remains unchanged in नम्भाज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्ष and नाक॥

एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकादिः, च, एकस्य, च, अदुक्, ॥ वच्तः ॥ एकादिश्च नग्रप्रकृत्या भवति एकशब्दस्यादुगामो भवति ॥

76. The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अद्वृक् (अद्).

Thus एकेन न विशास्तिः = एकान्नविशतिः, एकान्नविशत् ॥. These are Instrumental compounds. The augment आदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विशस्तिः and एकान् न विशस्ति by VIII.

नगो अप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नंगः, अप्राणिषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ न श्वमकृत्या भवति ॥

77. The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग्, when it does not mean a living animate being.

Thus नगः or अगः 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move'. The affix-उ is added to गम्!! Why do we say when not referring

to animate beings. Observe अगः वृष्टिः शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here.

सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सः, संज्ञायाम् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

78. स is substituted for सह, in a Name.

Thus साश्वर्थम्, सपलाशम्, साशीशपम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहशुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The word सैह has acute on the first syllable, because all Particles have acute on the first syllable. The substitute स coming in the room of the acute स and the grave ह, will have an accent mid-way between सै acute and ह् grave, namely, it would have the svarita accent. But, as a matter of fact, it has the acute accent. As सैपुत्रः, सैभार्यः ॥ These are Bahuvrihi. In Avyayibhāva, the samāsa-qacent will prevail (VI. i. 223), as सैष्टि, सप्तुवन्धैम् ॥

ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रन्थान्त, अधिके, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रन्थान्ते अधिके च वर्त्तमानस्य सहशब्दस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

79. स is the substitute for सह, when it has the sense of 'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work), or 'more'.

Thus सकलं = कलान्तं उत्तिष्ठमधीते ॥ So also समूहतम् = (मुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ स संग्रह (= संग्रहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by अन्तव्यने (II. i. 6). Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI. 3. 81. The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time-denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book'. When the sense is that of 'more', we have सद्वेणाखारी, समाप्तः कार्षपणः सकाकिर्णीको माषः ॥

द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीये, च, अनुपाख्ये, (सहस्यसः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये अनुपाख्ये सहस्य स इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

80. स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter however is not directly perceived.

Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य, i. e. what is to be inferred. That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word. Thus साप्तिः (कपोतः) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where'. सपिशाचा वात्य "a storm-wind which announces the Piśāchas". सराक्षसीका शाला ॥ Here the fire, the Piśācha or the Rākshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon &c.

अव्ययीभावे चाकाले ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावे, च, अकाले, (सहस्यसः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावे च समासे इकालवाचिन्युत्तरपदे सहस्य स इत्यमारेशो भवति ॥

81. स is the substitute of सहः in an Avyayībhāva when the second member is not a word denoting time.

Thus सचक्रंथेहि, मधुरं प्राजः, but सहपूर्णहणम् the second member being a time denoting word (II. I. 5).

बोपसर्जनस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उपसर्जनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वोपसर्जनो बहुत्रीहर्षश्चते । तदवयवस्य सहशब्दस्य वा स इत्यमारेशो भवति ॥

82. स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi.

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood. Thus सपुत्रः or सहपुत्रः, सच्छाचः or सहच्छाचः ॥ Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहयुधा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्वप्रियः or सहयुद्धप्रियः ॥

प्रकृत्याशिष्यगोवत्सहलेषु ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्या, आशिषि, अ, गोवत्सहलेषु, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृत्या सहशब्दो भवति आशिषि विषये इगोवत्सहलेषु ॥

83. The word सह retains its original form when the sentence denotes benediction, except when it is गो, वत्स or हल ॥

Thus स्वस्ति ईवेदन्नाय सहपुत्राय, सहच्छाचाय, सहमात्राय ॥ But optionally here, as स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सवत्साय, सहलाय, or सहलाय ॥ The phrase अगोवत्सहलेषु is no part of the original sūtra, but has been added by the Kāśikā from a Vārtika.

समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्द्धप्रभृत्युदकेषु ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानस्य, छन्दसि, अ, मूर्द्ध, प्रभृति, उदकेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानस्य स इत्यमारेशो भवति छन्दसि विषये मूर्द्धन् प्रभृति उदकं इत्यतान्युत्तरपदानि वर्जयित्वा ॥

84. स is the substitute of समान in the Chandas, but not before मूर्द्धन्, प्रभृति and उदक ॥

Thus अनुधाता सगम्यः, अनुसखा सयुधः, योनः सनृतः (See IV. 4. 114). समानो गर्भः = सगम्यः, तत्र भवः = सगम्यः formed by अन् affix IV. 4. 114. But समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृतयः, समानोदकः ॥ This substitution takes place in secular literature also, as सपंकः, साधर्म्यम्, सजातीयः &c.

ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनवन्युषु ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्योतिः, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नाम, गोत्ररूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयोवचन, वन्युषु, (समानस्यसः) वृत्तिः ॥ ज्योतिसः जनपद रात्रि नाभि नामत् गोत्र रूप स्थान वर्ण वयस् वचन वन्युषु इत्यतेष्वृत्तरपदेषु समानस्य स इत्यमारेशो भवते ॥

85. This substitution of स for समान् takes place before ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also.

Thus सज्योतिः, सजनपदः, सरात्रिः, सनाभिः, सनापा, सगोत्रः, सरूपः, सस्थानः, सवर्णः, सवयाः, सवचनः, सबन्धुः ॥

चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणे, ब्रह्मचारिणि, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) वृत्तिः ॥ चरणे गम्यमाने ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

86. स is substituted for समान् before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas.

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी=सब्रह्मचारी ॥ ब्रह्म means the Vedas. The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान् refers to the vow, the vow of studying being common to both : i. e. समाने ब्रह्मणि ब्रतचारी=सब्रह्मचारी ॥ According to Bhattoji Dikshit चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study. He who has a common (samāna) branch (charaṇa) is a सब्रह्मचारी.

तीर्थे ये ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर्थे, ये, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तीर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययपरे परतः समानस्य स इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

87. स is substituted for समान्, before तीर्थे when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सतीर्थः = समाने तीर्थे वासी (IV. 4. 107). 'a fellow-student ?

विभाषोदरे ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उदरे, (समानस्यसः) (उत्तरपदे) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ उदरशब्दउत्तरपदे यत्प्रत्ययान्ते समानस्य विभाषा स इत्यथमादेशी भवति ॥

88. The substitution of स for समान् is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it.

Thus सोदर्यः or समानोदर्यः (IV. 4. 108).

द्वग्दशवतुषु ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्, दश, वतुषु, (समानस्यसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक् दश वतु इत्येतुषु परतः समानस्य स इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दक्षं चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ धारा ॥ दशः क्षसप्रत्ययोपि तत्रैव वक्तव्यः ॥

89. स is substituted for समान्, before दक्, दश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus सदक्, सदशः ॥ The affixes क्ष and क्षिन् are added to दश under II. 2. 60. *Vārt* :—which give as the forms दक् and दश ॥ *Vārt* :—So also before दक् : as सदकः ॥ दक् is formed by क्षस affix under III. 2. 60. *Vārtika*.—The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

इदं किमोरीशकी ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ इदम्, किमोः, ईश, की, (द्वग्दशवतुषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इं किम् इत्यत्यारीश की इत्येतौ यथासंख्यमादेशो भवतो द्वग्दशवतुषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दक्षं चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

90. ई is substituted for इहम् and की for किम् before the words हक्, हशा and the affix वत् ॥

Thus इहक्, इहशा: and इयान्, कीहक्, कीहशा: and कियान् ॥ ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इयत् and का+इयन् by V. 2. 40 and the long ई is elided by VI. 4. 148: and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vart :—So also before हक्, as ईहक्: and कीहक्: ॥

आ सर्वनामः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, सर्वनामः, (हग्दशावतुषु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनाम भाकारादेशो भवति हग्दशावतुषु ॥
वास्तिकम् ॥ हक्षे वृत्ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

91. आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (I. 1. 27) before these words हक्, हशा and the affix वत् ॥

Thus ताहक्, ताहशा: तावान्, याहक्, याहशा: यावान् ॥

Vart :—So also before हक्ष, as ताहक्ष: and याहक्ष: ॥

विष्वगदेवयोऽश्च देवस्याञ्चतौ (ता) वप्रत्यये ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विष्वक्, देवयोः, अ, देः, अद्रि, अञ्चतौ, अप्रत्यये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वक् देव इत्येतयोः सर्वनामस्य देवस्यायमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौता वप्रत्ययान्तरज्ञरपदे ॥
वास्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि विद्यां बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

92. In the room of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च with the affix व follows.

Thus विष्वगञ्चति = विष्वद्यङ्. This form is thus evolved. अञ्च + विवन् = अञ्च + O = अञ्च + नुम् (VII. 1. 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant ञ्च, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the किम् affix (VIII. 2. 62), e. i. ञ् is changed to ङ् and we have अङ् which with विष्वद्रि gives the above form. वेष्वद्यङ्, तद्यङ्, यद्यङ् ॥ अद्रि and सधि (VI. 3. 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipātan) in order to prevent the krit-accent. and when ई is changed into अङ् the following vowel becomes svarita (VIII. 2. 4). Why do we say of विष्वग् and देव ? Observe अश्वाची = अश्वमञ्चति, the feminine डीए उपाधि being added by IV. 1. 6 *Vart*. The अ of अञ्च is elided by VI. 4. 138. and the final of अञ्च is lengthened by VI. 3. 138. Why 'when अञ्च follows' ? Observe विष्वगञ्चयुक् ॥ Why do we say 'when the affix व follows' ? Observe विष्वगञ्चनं ॥ The व is totally elided by VI. 1. 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अप्रत्यये (अञ्चत्वावप्रत्यये). It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word-form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यये not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when affich followed, but when affichana ending in ल्प्युह् also followed. The maxim धातुप्रस्त्रे तथोऽपि निरपेरिष्यते is illustrated in अवस्थानं and

अथस्कारः; for VIII. 3. 46 teaches that visarga is changed into अ when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ, therefore which begins with कृ, such as कारः and कृतः ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अथस्कृत् which is followed merely by the verb कृ; as well as to forms like अथस्कृतः ॥

Vārt :—In the Vedas, diversely before the feminine nouns : thus in “विश्वाची च धृत्याची च” there is no substitution in विश्वाची, but in कद्रीची there is this substitution. कद्रीची is derived from किम् + अञ्च् = काद्रि + अञ्च् ॥ Then is added डीप् and then like अश्वाची ॥

समः समि ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, समि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समिलेतस्य समि इत्ययमादेशो भवति अञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्तरन्तरपदे ॥

93. समि is substituted for सम, before this अञ्च when no affix (or व affix) follows.

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यज्ञौ, सम्यज्ञः ॥

तिरस्स्तिर्थलोपे ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरसः, तिरि, अलोपे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरस् इत्येतस्य तिरि इत्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्तरन्तरपदे अलोपे । यस इस्य लोपे न भवति ॥

94. तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च when no affix (or व affix) follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च is not elided.

Thus तिर्थङ्, तिर्थज्ञौ, तिर्थञ्चः ॥ Why do we say ‘when there is no elision’? Observe तिरशा, तिरञ्च ॥ Here अ is elided by VI. 4. 138. The word अलोपे in the sūtra is ambiguous. It may mean either (1) “where अ is elided” or (2) “Where there is no elision”. The latter meaning should be taken however.

सहस्य सधिः ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्य, सधिः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहेतस्य सांग्रहित्ययमादेशो भवत्यञ्चतौ व (अ) प्रत्ययान्तरन्तरपदे ॥

95. सधि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च followed by no affix (or व affix).

Thus सध्यूड्, सध्यूञ्ज्ञौ, सध्यूञ्ज्ञः; and सधीषः, सधीचा ॥ See VI. 3. 138 for long vowel.

सध मादस्ययोरछन्दसि ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सध, माद, स्ययोः, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माद स्य इत्येत्यान्तरपदयोः सहस्य सध इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

96. सध is substituted for सह in the Veda, when माद and स्य follow.

Thus सधमादेशून्न्य एकास्ताः, सधस्थाः ॥ Another example is आत्वा वृहन्तो इत्यो युजाना, अंवर्गिन्द्रूपसमादी वहन्तु (Rig III. 3. 7) सहमाद्यन्ति देवा अस्मिन् ॥

द्विचन्तरपसर्गेभ्यो इप ईत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि, अन्तर्, उपसर्गेभ्यः, अपः, ईत्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वि अन्तरित्यताभ्यामुपसर्गेभ्योन्तरस्यादित्येतस्य ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समाप्तैर्व्ये प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ ईत्वमनवर्णादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. After द्वि, अन्तर् and Prepositions, long ई is the substitute of अप् ॥

By I. 1. 54, ई replaces the *first-letter* of अप् viz अ only. Thus द्वीपः, अम्बरीपः, नीपम्, वीपम्, समीपम् ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V. 4. 74.

Vdrt :—Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप् ॥ समापं नाम, इवयज्ञनम् ॥ Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place. Thus प्रापम्, परापम् ॥ The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्; here however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra. It means प्र &c.

ऊदनोईशो ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्, अनोः, देशः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनोरुचरस्थाप ऊकारोदशो भवति देशाभिधाने ॥

98. After अनु, ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality.

Thus अनुवा देशः, but अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant. The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed; as अनु ऊपः = अनुपः ॥ The form अनूपः could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उपः = अनूपः ॥ But this analysis is not intended.

अपष्टुचतुर्तीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छधु ॥ ९९ ॥
पदानि ॥ अष्टु, अतृतीयास्थस्य, अन्यस्य, दुक्, आशीः, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित,
उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक, राग, च्छेषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टीत्थस्य अतृतीयास्थस्य आन्यशब्दस्य दुगागमो भवनि भाशि स भाशा भास्था भास्थित
उत्सुक ऊति कारक राग छ इत्येतेषु परतः ॥

Kārikā—दुगागमो इविशेषेण वक्तव्यः कारकच्छयोः ।

षष्ठीतृतीयश्चर्नेष्ट भाशीरास्थितु सप्तसु ॥

99. अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (द), before आशिस्त, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय).

Thus अन्या भाशीः = अन्यशाशीः अन्या आशा = अन्यशाशा, अन्या भास्था = अन्यशस्था,
अन्य भास्थितः = अन्यशास्थितः, अन्य उत्सुकः = अन्यदुत्सुकः, अन्या ऊतिः = अन्यवृत्तिः, अन्यः कारकः
अन्यश्चाकारकः, अन्यो रागः = अन्यद्रागः ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यशीयः ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138.)

The word अन्य belongs to गहादि class (IV. 2. 138). Why do we say when not in Genitive or the Instrumental? Observe अन्यस्य भाशीः = अन्याशीः, अन्येन भास्थितः = अन्यास्थितः &c. With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c: as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारकम्, अन्यस्थेऽम् = अन्यवीथम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अष्टी and अतृतीय), implies this.

अर्थे विभाषा ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थे, विभाषा, (उत्तरपदे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थशब्दउत्तरपदे अन्यस्य विभाषा दुगागमो भवति ॥

100. दुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows.

As अन्यर्थः or अन्यार्थः ॥

कोः कस्तपुरुषे ऽचि ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोः, कस्त तपुरुषे, अचि, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कु इत्येतत्स्य कवित्यमारेशो भवति तपुरुषे समासे ऽजाशब्दउत्तरपदे ॥
यार्तिकम् ॥ कज्जावे आपुपसंख्यानम् ॥

101. कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member.

As करजः, करथः, कंद्रुः, कद्रम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha ? Observe कृष्णे राजा ॥ Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel " ? Observe कुल्लाङ्गणः, कुपुरुषः ॥

Vārt :—कत् is substituted before चय, as किंचयः = कुस्तिसत्ताचयः ॥

रथवदयोश्च ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथ, वदयोः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रथ वद इत्येतयोर्बोधत्तरपदयोः कोः कवित्यमारेशो भवति ॥

102. कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and वद also.

Thus कद्रथः, कद्रवः ॥

तृणे च जातौ ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृणे, च, जातौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सृणशब्दउत्तरपदे जातावभिवेयार्थां कोः कवारेशो भवति ॥

103. कत् is substituted for कु, when तृण follows denoting a species.

As कृत्तुणा नाम जातिः ॥ But कुस्तिसत्तानि तणानि = कुत्तुणानि ॥

का पथ्यक्षयोः ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ का, पथि, अक्षयोः, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पथिन् धक्ष इत्येतयोर्हत्तरपदयोः कोः का इत्ययमारेशो भवति ॥

104. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and धक्ष ॥

Thus कापथः and काधकः ॥

ईषदर्थे ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-अर्थे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदर्थे वर्त्तमानस्य कोः का इत्ययमारेशो भवति ॥

105. का is the substitution for कु, when the meaning is 'a small'.

As कामधूष, कालवणम्, काम्लम् ॥ Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI. 3. 101 : as कोणम् ॥

विभाषा पुरुषे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, पुरुषे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पुरुषशब्दउत्तरपदे विभाषा कोः का इत्ययमारेशो भवति ॥

106. का is optionally substituted for कु, when the word पुरुष follows.

Thus कापुरुषः or कुपुरुषः ॥ This is an apr̄apta-vibhāshā. In the sense of 'a little ईश्वर', the substitution is compulsory; as ईश्वर पुरुषः = का पुरुषः ॥

कवञ्चोऽप्ते ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवम्, च, उच्चणे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चणाश्वरत्तरपैरेकाः कवञ्चित्यथमादेष्टो भवति का च विभाषा ॥

107. का and कवञ्च are optionally the substitutes of कु when उच्चण follows.

As कवोरणम्, कोरणम् or कदुलणम् ॥

पथि चच्छन्दसि ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि, च, छन्दसि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिशाश्वरत्तरपैरेहन्वति विषये कोः कव का इतेतावांशेषां भवती विभाषा ॥

108. This substitution of का, and कव for कु takes place in the Veda, before पंथ ॥

Thus कवपथः, कापथः and कुपथः ॥

पृष्ठोदरादीनि यथोपादिष्टम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पृष्ठोदरादीनि, यथोपदिष्टम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पृष्ठोदरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि वेषु लोपागमवर्णविक्राताः शास्त्रे न विहिता हृथते च तानि यथोपदिष्टानि साप्रतीनि भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विक्षाङ्केदेव उत्तरस्य तीरस्य तार भावो वा भवति ॥

वा० ॥ वाचो वादे उत्तरं च लभावभोत्तरपदस्तेजि प्रत्यये ॥

वा० ॥ षष्ठउत्तरं वन्दशाधासुत्तरपदांशुत्तरं च ॥

वा० ॥ सुरोदाशनादाशभद्रेयषुत्तरं वन्दक्ष्यमुत्तरपदेश्वरुत्तरम् ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरो रोहतो छन्दस्तुत्वं वन्दक्ष्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ पीढीपशसनादीनां च लोपो वन्दक्ष्यः ॥

Kārikā—वर्णागमो वर्णविपर्ययश्च द्वौ आपरौ वर्णविकारनाशौ ।

धातोस्तत्त्वातिशयेन योगस्तदुच्चयते पञ्चविधिं निरुक्तम् ॥

109. The elision, augmentation and mutation of letters to be seen in पृष्ठोदर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages.

The word वर्थोपस्तिष्ट = शिष्टैरुचारितानि ॥ Thus पृष्ठदुर्गो यस्य = पृष्ठोदरम्, पृष्ठद उद्धाने यस्य = पृष्ठोद्धानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द ॥ So also वर्त्तिवाहकः = बलाहकः; here वर्ति is replaced by व, and ल replaces व of वाहकः; जीवनस्य वृत्तः = जीवनूतः; here वृत्त has been elided; शावानां शायनं = इमशानम्; here इम replaces शाव; and शान for शायन ॥ उत्तरं खमस्य = उल्लखलम्; here उल् replaces ऊर्ध्व, and खल् replaces खम् ॥ विशिताशः = पिशाचः ॥ द्वृग्नन्तोस्यां सीदिन्ति = द्वृसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उंट in the locative, and द्वृश्व is replaced by द्वृ ॥ मध्यां रैति = मध्यरः ॥ Here मध्यी is replaced by मध्य, and the final of रु is elided before the affix अभ्यः ॥ And, so on with अभ्यस्य, क्रपित्य &c.

Vart:—तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतीरम् or दक्षिणतीरम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vart:—Before the Patronymic ईम् affix, वाग्वाद becomes वाङ्वाल as, वाग्वादस्यापत्यं = वाङ्वालिः ॥

Vart:—The final of षष्ठ् is changed to उ before वन्द, वश, and धा (meaning

'location'): and the first letter of the second member is changed to ड or ढ ॥ Thus षट् इत्ता अस्य = षोडश्; so षोडश्; षट्धा or षोडा कुरु ॥ 'The addition of उ is optional here. The putting of धा in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण). In fact it has the force of an affix here. The rule therefore does not apply to these:—षट् इधाति or षथाति = षड्धा ॥

Vart.—The final of दुर् is changed to उ, before शाश्, नाश्, इभ and ध्वे and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals. Thus दुःखेन शाश्यते, नाश्यते, इभते यः = रुडाशः, रुणाशः, रुडभः; In the last (इभ) there is elision of the nasal also. दुष्ट ध्वास्ति = दुज्जः ॥ Here is added the affix क to the root ध्वा (ध्वै) preceded by the upapada दुः; by III. I. 136.

Vart.—उ is substituted for the final of स्वर् when the verb रुह follows in the Vedas: as एहित्वं जायेस्वे रोहावं (रोहाव is Imperative Ist. Pers. Dual).

Vart.—The final of पीवस्, पवस् &c. is elided in the Vedas. as पीवोप वस-नानां, पयोपवसनानाम् ॥

संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याह्रस्याहनन्यतरस्यां डौ ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या, वि, साय, पूर्वस्य, अह्रस्य, अहन्, अन्यतरस्याम्, डौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्या वि साय इत्येवपूर्वस्याह्रस्य व्याप्तिः अहनित्यथमाइत्तो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां डौ परतः ॥

110. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह्र, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय precedes it.

Thus द्युयोरह्रुभवः = द्युह्रुः, द्ययह्रुः ॥ The Locative singular of these are द्याह्रु or द्यालनि. द्याह्रु or द्ययहनि ॥ So also द्यह्रु, द्ययह्रु ॥ With वि—द्याह्रु, द्ययहनि or द्यह्रु; साय—सायाह्रु, सायालनि, सायाह्रु ॥ These are एकाशसमासः, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्रु = मध्यमह्रुः (II. 2. 1). But पूर्वह्रु and अपराह्रु only.

द्रूलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घो णः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रूलोपे, पूर्वस्य, दीर्घः, अणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रूकारेरफयोलीपो यस्मिन् स द्रूलोपः, तत्र पूर्दस्याणो सीर्वो भवति ॥

111. When द् or र् is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ a corresponding Long vowel is substituted.

Thus लीढम्, मीढम्, उपगृढम् ॥ र्लोपे-निर्-रक्तम् = नीरक्तम्, अग्निर॒रथः = अग्नीरथः, इन्द्र॑रथः, पुना॑ रक्तम् वासः, प्राता॑ राजक्रथः ॥ For the elision of द् see VIII. 3. 13, and for the elision of र् see VIII. 3. 14. But आवृढम्, the वृ is not lengthened because it is not included in the pratyahāra॑ अण् which is formed with the ण of अ इ उ ण्।

सहिवहोरोदर्वणस्य ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहि, वहोः, ओत्, अवर्णस्य, ॥

— वृत्तिः ॥ सहि वहो इत्येवारवर्णस्योकार आदेशो भवति द्रूलोपे ॥

112. When द् or र् are elided, there is the substitution of ओ for the अ or आ of the verbs सह् and वह् ॥

Thus सोढा, सोदुम्, सोढ्यम्, वोढा, वोदुम् and वोढ्यम् ॥ Why do we say of अ or आ ? Observe उडः, 'उवान् ॥ Why do we say अवर्ण which includes long आ also ? The rule will apply even when the short अ of सह and वह is changed to आ by Vṛiddhi : as उवोडाम्, उवोढम् ॥ Had merely अ been read into the sūtra, instead of अवर्ण then coming after the त् of जोन्, it would have denoted only short अ (तारपि परः = तपरः I. 1. 75).

साढै साद्वां साढेति निगमे ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साढै, साद्वा, साढा, इति, निगमे ॥

बृक्तिः ॥ साढै साद्वा साढा इति निगमे निपात्यन्ते ॥

113. साढै, साद्वा and साढा are irregularly formed in the Vedas.

Thus साढै समन्नात्, साद्वा शत्रून् ॥ The latter is formed by स्वा affix, the ओ substitution not taking place. In the other alternative स्वा is changed to औ ॥ साढा is formed by तृतीय affix. In the secular literature सोढा and सोद्वा are the proper forms.

संहितायाम् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संहितायाम् ॥
बृक्तिः ॥ संहितायामित्यथमधिकारः । यदित उद्भूमनुकमिष्यामः संहितायामित्येवं तद्विस्त्रयम् ॥

114. In the following sūtras upto the end of the pāda, are to be supplied the following words :—“In an uninterrupted flow of speech”.

Thus sūtra VI. 3. 135 declares “अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns”. Thus विद्माहित्वा सत्पति शूर गोनाम्. The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense. So that when the above words stand separately, we have विद्महि, त्वा, सत्पति, शूर, गोनाम्।

कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नचिछन्नचिछिद्रस्त्रवस्तिकस्य ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥
कर्णे, लक्षणस्य, अविष्ट, अष्ट, पञ्च, मणि, भिन्न, चिन्न, चिछन्न, चिछिद्र, स्त्रव, स्वस्तिकस्य (दीर्घः) ॥
बृक्तिः ॥ कर्णशब्दे उत्तरपै लक्षणवाचिनी शीर्घे भवति विष्ट अष्टम् पञ्चम् मणि भिन्न चिन्न चिछिद्र स्त्रव स्वस्तिकस्य इत्यतान्वर्जयित्वा ॥

115. Before कर्ण, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark or the ears of cattle, but not when the words are विष्ट, अष्टम्, पञ्चम्, मणि, भिन्न, चिन्न, चिछिद्र, स्त्रव and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus शत्राकर्णः, हिणुणाकर्णः, त्रिणुणाकर्णः, व्याहुलाकर्णः, व्यहुलाकर्णः ॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals. Why do we say when it denotes such a mark ?

Observe शाभनकर्णः ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of विष्ट &c'? Observe विष्टकर्णः ॥ अष्टकर्णः, पञ्चकर्णः, अन्नकर्णः, छिन्नकर्णः, लघकर्णः, स्वस्त्रकर्णः and मणिकर्णः ॥

नहिंवृत्तिवृथिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्तौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नहि, वृत्ति, वृथि, व्यधि, रुचि, सहि, तनिषु, क्तौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नहि वृत्ति वृथि व्यधि रुचि साह तनि इत्येतेषु किंवप्रत्ययान्तेषु लप्ते शुभं पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घो भवति संहितायां विषये ॥

116. A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नहि, वृत्ति, वृथि, व्यधि, रुचि, सहि and तनि, when these roots take the affix क्ति ॥

Thus उपानहि (उपानत् Nom. S.), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vṛt) प्रावृह्, उपावृद्, (with vṛsh) मर्मावृत्, हृश्यावृत्, खावृत्, (with vyadhi) नीरुक्, अभीरुक्, (with ruch) अर्तीषद्, (with sah) तर्तीषद् (with tan). The nasal is elided after ग्रह before क्ति (VI. 4. 40), by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also. Why do we say when क्ति follows? Observe परिणहनम् ॥

वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिशुलकादीनाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वन, गिर्योः, संज्ञायाम्, कोटर, किशुलकादीनाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन गिरि इत्येतयांहृतपदयार्थयासंख्यं कोटरादीनां किशुलकादीनां च दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

117. For the final vowel of कोटर &c. a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किशुलक &c. before गिरि, when the compound is a Name.

Thus कोटरावणम्, मिथकावणम्, सिप्रकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किशुलकागिरिः, अज्जनागिरिः, &c.

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII. 4. 4. But असिपवनम् and कृष्णगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes.

1 कोटर, 2 मिथक, 3 सिप्रक, 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किशुलक (किशुलक), 2 शाल्व (साल्वक), 3 नड़* 4 अज्जन, 5 अज्जन, 6 लोहित, 7 कुकुट ॥

वले ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वले, (पूर्वस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वले परतः पूर्वस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुत्साहप्रात् पितृणमिति ॥

118. The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus आसुतीवलः, कृषीवलः, इन्तावलः ॥ These are formed by the affix वलच् (V. 2. 112).

Vdrī:—Not so, of उस्साह, भ्रात् and पित् : as उस्साहवलः, भ्रातृवलः and पितृवलः ॥

मतौ बहूचोऽनजिरादीनाम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ, बहू चः, अनजिरादीनाम्, (संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मता परतो बहूचोऽनजिरादीनाम् ॥ उपर्युक्तस्य दीर्घो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

119. The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c. "

Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मत्॒प् (IV. 2. 85) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII. 2. 11. Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables ? Observe श्रीहिमती ॥ Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c'. Observe अजिरवती, खस्तिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकार-पृष्ठवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening, as वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खस्ति, 3 पुलिन, 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारा॒डव) 6 चक्रवाक-

शरादीनां च ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ शरादीनाम्, च, (दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरादीनां च मतो दीर्घे भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

120. The final vowel of शर &c. is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name.

As शरावती, वेशावती' ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is a Name (VIII. 2. 11). But not so after श्रीहि &c as these belong to यवाहि class (VIII. 2. 9).

1 शर, 2 वेश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 हनु.

इको वहे॑ पीलोः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, वहे॑, अपीलोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगत्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य पीलुवर्जितस्य वहउत्तरपदे॑ दीर्घे॑ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपील्वादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

121. The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कर्पीवहम्, मुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels' ? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vart:—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As वासवहम् ॥

उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये॑ वहुलम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गस्य, घञ्य, अमनु-
ष्ये॑, वहुलम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गस्य घञ्यन्तरत्तरपदे॑ अमनुष्यभिर्भेदे॑ वहुलं दीर्घे॑ भवति ॥

122. The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the krit-affix घञ्य, but not when the compound denotes a human being.

Thus नीक्लेः, वीरार्गः, अपामार्गः ॥ It does not take place, as प्रेतेः, प्रसारः ॥ It is lengthened before साइ and काट, when building is meant, as प्राप्ताइः and प्राक्तारः, otherwise प्रसाइः and प्रकारः ॥ Optionally in वेश &c. as प्रतिवेशः or प्रतीवेशः; प्रतिरोधः or प्रतीरोधः ॥ When human beings are meant, there is no lengthening, as निवासा॑ मनुष्यः ॥

इकः काशे ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, काशे, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इग्न्तस्थापसर्गस्य काशशब्दउत्तरपेद शीर्षो भवति ॥

123. A Preposition ending in इ, or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As नीकाशः, वीकाशः, अमूकाशः ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III. 1. 134). Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाशः where the Preposition does not end in इकः ॥

दस्ति ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दः, ति, (दीर्घः इकः उपसर्गस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ श इयेतस्य यस्तकारादिरादेशस्तस्मिन्परत इग्न्तस्थापसर्गस्य शीर्षो भवति ॥

124. A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final vowel, before the verb दा, when the latter is changed to त ॥

Thus नीत्तम्, वीत्तम्, परीत्तम् ॥ See VII. 4. 47 for the change of दा to त ॥ But प्रन्तम्, अवन्तम्, where the prepositions do not end in इ or उ ॥ Why do we say 'दा is changed to त'? Observe वितीर्णम्, नितीर्णम् ॥ Why do we say ति 'a substitute of दा, beginning with a त'? Observe सुत्तम्, here दद् is the substitute of दा (VII. 4. 46).

अष्टनः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अष्टनः, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अष्टनियेतस्थोन्तरपेद संज्ञायां शीर्षो भवति ॥

125. A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name.

Thus अष्टावकः, अष्टावन्धुरः अष्टापदम् ॥ But अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः where the compounds are not names.

छन्दसि च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, च, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषेद इन उत्तरपेद शीर्षो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ गवि च युन्ते भाषायामदने शीर्षो भवतीति वन्तव्यम् ॥

126. In the Veda also, the long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a second member.

Thus आनेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वर्पत्, अष्टाहिरण्या इक्षिणा, अष्टापशी श्वता सुमती ॥ The form अष्टापशी is the feminine in डीप् (IV. 1. 8) of अष्टापात् (V. 4. 138) the अ of पात् being elided in a Bahuvrihi), पद् being substituted for पात् by VI. 4. 130.

Vāst.—The final of अष्टन् is lengthened before गो even in the vernacular, when yoking is meant. Thus अष्टागां शकटम् ॥

चितेः कपि ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ चितेः, कपि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चितिशब्दस्य कपि परतो शीर्षो भवति ॥

127. The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचितीकः, सिचितीकः, चिचितीकः ॥

विश्वस्य वसुरादोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विश्वस्य, वसु, रादोः, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विश्वशब्दस्य वसु राद्येत्योहन्तरप्रयोर्धीर्घं अदिशो भवति ॥

128. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राद् (the form assumed by राज्).

Thus विश्वावसुः, विश्वाराद् ॥ The rule applies to the राद् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form: as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

नरे संज्ञायाम् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नरे, संज्ञायाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नरशब्दउत्तरपै संज्ञायां विषये विश्वस्य शीर्घो भवति ॥

129. The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a Name.

Thus विश्वानरः, वैश्वानरिः (the son of Vishvânara). But विश्वनरः = विश्व मरा वस्य when it is not a name.

मित्रे चर्षी ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ मित्रे, च, ऋषौ, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मित्रे चोत्तरपै ऋषावभिधेये विश्वस्य शीर्घो भवति ॥

130. The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्रः 'the sage Viśvāmitra'. But विश्वमित्रः 'a boy called Viśvamitra'.

मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, सोम, अश्व,
इन्द्रिय, विश्वदेव्यस्य, मतौ, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रविषये सोम अश्व इन्द्रिय विश्वदेव्य इतेषां मतुप्रत्यये परतो शीर्घो भवति ॥

131. In a Mantra, the final vowels of सोम, अश्व, इन्द्रिय and विश्वदेव्य are lengthened when the affix मतुप follows.

Thus सोमावती, अश्वावती, इन्द्रियावती, विश्वदेव्यावती ॥

ओषधेश्व विभक्तावप्रथमायाम् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओषधैः, च, विभक्तौ, अप्र-
थमायाम्, (मन्त्रे) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ओषधिशब्दस्य विभक्तावप्रथमायां परतो शीर्घो भवति ॥

132. In a Mantra, the final of ओषधि is lengthened before the case-endings, but not in the Nominative.

Thus ओषधीभिरपीपतत्, नमः पृथिव्यै नमः ओषधीभ्यः ॥ Why do we say 'before case-endings'? Observe ओषधिपते ॥ Why do we say 'but not in the Nominative'? Observe स्थिरेयमस्त्वैषधिः ॥

ऋचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुओरुष्याणाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋचि, तु, तु, अ, मक्षु,
तङ्, कुञ्च, उरुष्याणाम्, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचि विषये तु तु अ मक्षु तङ् कु अ उरुष्य इतेषां शीर्घो भवति ॥

133. In the Rig-Veda the finals of the particles तु, तृ, घ, मक्षु, the tense-affix तङ्, कु, the ending त्र and the word उरुष्य are lengthened.

Thus तु :—आ तू न इन्द्र वृत्तदत्त् (Rig IV. 32. 1) तु—तृ करणे ॥ घ :—उत वाधा स्यालान् ॥ मक्षु :—मक्षु गोमन्तमीमंह ॥ तङ् :—भरता जातवृदसम् (Rig X. 176. 2). तङ् is the त substitute of था, when it is treated as डिन्, therefore it does not apply here, शृणोत आवाणः (I. 2. 4). कु—कूमनस् ; च—अच्चा गौः ; उरुष्या णोमेः ॥

इकः सुञ्जि ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, सुञ्जि, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सुञ्ज निपातो शृण्यते । इगन्तस्य सुञ्जि परतो मन्त्रविषये हीर्घो मवति ॥

134. In a Mantra, the finals of the preceding member ending in इ or उ are lengthened before the particle सु ॥

Thus अभी शु णः सखीनाम् (Rig. IV. 31. 3) उर्वर्व ऊ शुण उर्वये (Rig I. 36. 13). The स is changed to श by VIII. 3. 107; and न changed to ण by VIII. 4. 27.

• द्वयचोतस्तिङ्गः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वयः, अतः, तिङ्गः, (ऋच्चि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयस्तिङ्गन्तस्यात् ऋग्विषये हीर्घो मवति ॥

135. A tense affix ending in अ is lengthened in the Rig-veda, when the Verb consists of two syllables.

Thus विद्या हं ल्वा सत्पाते शूर गोनाम् &c. See Rig III. 42. 6, विद्या हि तस्य पितरम् &c. But not here इवा भवत वाज्जिनः, as the verb consists of more than two syllables; not also here आ इवान् वक्षि वक्षि च as the verbs do not end in अ ॥

निपातस्य च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातस्य, च, (ऋच्चि) (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ निपातस्य च ऋग्विषये हीर्घ आवेशो मवति ॥

136. In the Rig Veda the final of a particle is lengthened.

Thus एवा ते, अच्छाते, अच्छा जरितारः (R. I. 2. 2).

अन्येषामपि दृश्यते ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषाम् अपि, दृश्यते, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येषामपि हीर्घ दृश्यते स शिष्टप्रश्नोग्नादुग्नतव्यः ॥ यस्य हीर्घल्वे न विहितं दृश्यते च प्रयोगे तद्वेन कर्त्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शुनो वन्तरंप्राकर्णकुन्दवराहपुच्छपदेषु ॥

137. The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also.

Here we must follow the usage of the Sishthas. Where the lengthening is not ordained by any of the rules of Grammar, but occurs in the writing of standard authors, there we should accept such lengthening as valid. Thus केशाकांशः, कथाकच्चि, जलासाद्, मारकः, पूरुषः ॥

Vart:—The final of श्वर् is lengthened before the following इन्त, इष्टा, कर्ण कुन्द, वराह, पुष्टु, and पदः—as श्वावन्तः श्वावंप्तः, श्वाकर्णः, श्वाकुन्दः, श्वावराहः, श्वापुष्टुः, श्वापदः ॥

चौ ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चौ, (पूर्वस्यदीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चौ परतः पूर्वपदस्य सीर्यो भवति ॥ चाविद्यज्ञर्त्तुमनकाराकारे गृह्णते ॥

138. The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel.

Thus इधीच्चः पश्च, इधीच्चा, इधीच्चे, मधूच्चः पश्च, मधूच्चा, मधूच्चे ॥ The nasal of अञ्चच्च is elided by VI. 4. 24, and the अ by VI. 4. 138. In इधी + अञ्च् the इ is not changed to its semivowel, though that is an antaranga rule, because the present sūtra ordains specifically long ई, and so also इधी + अञ्च् and मधू + अञ्च् ॥ See also VI. 3. 92.

संप्रसारणस्य ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संप्रसारणस्य, (उत्तरपदे दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रसारणान्तस्य पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदे सीर्यो भवति ॥

139. The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound.

As कारीषगन्धीपुत्रः कारीषगन्धीपतिः, कौसुरगन्धीपतिः ॥ See VI. 1. 13. करीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धिः (इ being added as samāsānta by V. 4. 136 and 137). The optional shortening ordained by VI. 3. 61. does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option; moreover, on the maxim of परत्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI. 3. 61 is superseded by VI. 3. 139; and the rule VI. 3. 61 can not be revived by the maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विज्ञानं "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule." For here the following maxim will prevent the revival सकृदत्ता विप्रतिषेधयद्वाधितं तद्वाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect."

ओम् ३ ।

षष्ठाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।



BOOK SIXTH.

CHAPTER FOURTH

अङ्गस्य ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गस्य, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोयमाऽसप्रमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः । यदित उर्जमनुकमिष्यामोऽङ्गस्येते तदेवित्यम् ॥

1. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sûtra. Thus in VI. 4. 2 is taught the lengthening of the vowel of a samprasâraṇa : as हूतः, जीतः, संतीतः ॥ That means that the vowel preceded by a consonant belonging to the stem is lengthened. Therefore in निर्+वेन्न+न्त्=निस्तम्, the vocalised vowel न्न is not lengthened, as निर् is upasarga and not stem. So दुरुतम् ॥ Similarly VI. 4. 3, teaches the lengthening of the final before नाम्, as अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम् ॥ But क्रिमिणाम् पश्य, पामनां पश्य, as मि and म् are not the end-portions of a stem. The stem is क्रिमिणा and पामना 'a female having क्रिमि or पामन्', formed by न् affix (V. 2. 100). The forms क्रिमिणाम् and पामनाम् are Accusative Singular. Similarly VII. 1. 9 teaches that after अ, भिस् is changed into एस् ॥ As वृक्षैः, घृक्षैः ॥ There also, the अ must be the अ final in an aṅga or stem : hence not here आङ्गणभिस्ता, ओङ्गनभिस्ता, the भिस does not follow an aṅga. भिस् means boiled rice and भिस्ता means तथि: ॥

The maxim of अर्थदृप्रहणे नानर्थकस्य does not apply here ; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of making this sûtra. For example, in the sûtra नामि (VI. 4. 3), the affix नाम् having a meaning would have been meant, and not any other नाम् ॥

The word अङ्गस्य must be read in the following sûtras, otherwise there would arise incongruity : first; sûtras teaching the lengthening of the vowel when सन् or Samprasaraṇa follows, thus : VI. 4. 16 ordains the lengthening of vowel before सन्, as विवीषति ; but not here श्चि सनोति for इ of श्चि is not that of aṅga. So also in Samprasâraṇa, but not in निस्तम् &c as shown above.

2ndly—For the purposes of एत्वं in sūtra VI. 4. 68. The optional change of आ into ए must refer to anga, as ग्लायात् or ग्लायात्, but not here निर्यायात् or निर्वायात्, for here ए is not part of the anga, and so ए cannot be considered a conjunct part of anga.

3rdly—For the change of तु to तात् in VII. 1. 35. There also तु must be portion of the anga, and not the particle तु, therefore, जीवतु or जीवतात्, but not here जीव तु त्वम् ॥

4thly—For the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in VI. 4. 77. Therefore not here इयर्थम् and उर्थम् ॥

5thly—For the sake of तुट् augment in VII. 1. 54. But not here कुमारी भासिति आह ॥

6thly—For the sake of shortening of vowels. Thus VII. 4. 13 ordains the shortening of अण् vowels before क ॥ It refers to the anga-vowel, as कुमारिका ॥ But not here, कुमारी कस्मै स्पृहयति or कुमार्याः कं सुखं = कुमारीकं ॥

And lastly for तत्वं or त् substitution. Thus VII. 4. 48 ordains the change of ए into त् in the case of अप् before भ ॥ It refers to anga, as अद्विः ॥ But not here अव्भारः, for अप् here is not anga.

To sum up in Sanskrit : सन् सम्प्रसारणं वीर्यं देवतां द्वयङ्गुटं हस्तल्पं तत्वे च अङ्गस्येत्यधिकोरं प्रयोजनं ॥

The word अङ्गस्य is in the Genitive case. But the force of Genitive is here not only that taught in I. 1. 49 (स्थानं योगः), but of mere relationship. Or अङ्गस्य may be considered as a mere prātipadika, without any case-affix. In the subsequent aphorisms, it should be read with proper case-affixes as the exigencies of each sūtra may require. Thus in अतो मिस एस् (VII. 1. 9) अङ्ग should be read in the ablative case : अकारान्ताद् अङ्गाद् मिसः एस् ॥ The Genitive case has force of स्थानषष्ठी in sūtras like हन्तेज्ज, where the *whole* of हन् is replaced (VI. 4. 36). It has the force of अवयवषष्ठी in sūtras like ऊदुपधाया गोहः (VI. 4. 89). It has the force of निमित्तनिमित्तं सम्बन्धः in युवोरनाकी (VII. 1. 1). Or the Genitive case in अङ्गस्य may be changed into any other case, as already shown.

हलः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, (अङ्गस्य सम्प्रसारणम् दीर्घः) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गावयवाङ्गलो यदुत्तरं संप्रसारणं तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य दीर्घो भवति ॥

2. The long vowel is substituted for a vocalised half-vowel अ, इ and उ at the end of a stem, when it is preceded by a consonant which is a portion of the stem.

Both the words दीर्घ and अण् from VI. 3. 111, and संसारण from VI. 3. 139 are understood here. Thus हूतः from ह्वा, जीनः from ज्वा, सर्वितः from व्या ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a consonant'? Observe उनः and उत्तरान् from व्यम् ॥ Why do we say that the preceding consonant should be a portion of the stem?

Observe निस्तम्, here त् is not an integral part of the stem, but a portion of the upasarga निः and therefore त् is not lengthened. Why do we say 'at the end of a stem'? Observe विद्धः, विचितः from व्यथ् and व्यच्; here the vowel इ is in the middle of the stem. Why do we say 'अ, इ and उ' substitutes of semivowels'? Observe त्रृतीयः ॥ Here त्रि has been vocalised into ई, ई being substituted for इ before the affix तीय (V. 2. 55). The ई will not be lengthened. Or the absence of lengthening in त्रृतीय is an irregularity countenanced by Pañini himself in sūtras like II. 1. 30 &c. The word अङ्ग should be repeated in this sūtra, first to qualify the word हल, and then to qualify the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

नामि ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नामि, (अङ्गस्य दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामिल्येत्त्वंश्चहुव चनम् आगतनुट्कं शूलते ॥ तस्मिन्परतोऽप्स्य शीर्षो भवति ॥

Kārikā—नामि दीर्घ आमि चेत्स्याकृते दीर्घे न तु भवेत् ।

वचनाद्यत्र तत्रास्ति, नोपधायाश्च चर्मणाश् ॥

3. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment तुट्).

Thus अग्नीनाम्, वायूनाम्, कन्तृनाम्, हर्तृनाम् ॥ The anuvritti of अण् (VI. 3. 111) ceases. The augment तुट् (VII. 1. 54) in नाम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra; like VI.4.7. and the lengthening takes place after the addition of तुट् to the genitive affix आम् ॥ For if the lengthening took place before the addition of तुट्, there would be no occasion for तुट् which comes only after short stems.

न तिसृचतस् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, तिसृ, चतस्, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिसृ चतस् इत्येत्योर्नामि दीर्षो न भवति ॥

4. The finals of तिसृ and चतस् are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

As तिसृनाम्, चतसृनाम् ॥ The very fact of this prohibition proves by implication that the final ई of these words is not changed to इ before a genitive plural, VII. 2. 100 notwithstanding. In fact तुट् is added before scope is given to that rule, and thus the preceding rule VII. 1. 54 prevents the application of the subsequent rule VII. 2. 100.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभय था ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये तिसृचतस्त्रोर्नामि परत उभयथा ददयते, दीर्घशारीर्घञ् ॥

5. In the Veda, the finals of तिसृ and चतस् are found in both ways, before the Genitive plural नाम् ॥

In some places they are seen as lengthened, in others not. As तिसृग मध्यंश्विने or तिसृणाम् मध्यंश्विने ॥ So also चतसृणाम् and चतसृणाम् ॥

नृ च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नृ, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नृ इत्येत्य नामि परग्रभयथा भवति ॥

6. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally.

As स्वं नृणां नृपते, and स्वं नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others, it extends to secular literature also.

नोपधायाः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, उपधायाः, (नामि दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नान्तस्यक्ष्योपधाया नामि परतो शीर्यो भवति ॥

7. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1. 55) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7) = पञ्चानाम् (VIII. 2. 7); सप्तनाम्, नवनाम्, इशानाम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe चतुर्णाम् ॥ But not in चर्मनाम् where the affix is not नाम् but आम् without नुट् ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने, च, असम्बुद्धौ (नोप-
धायाः दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वनामस्थाने च परतो इसंबुद्धौ नोपधाया शीर्यो भवति ॥

8. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

As राजा, राजानौ, राजानः, राजानम्, राजानौ ॥ So also सामानि तिष्ठन्ति ॥ राजा was राजान्स्, the स् was elided by VI. 1. 68, and न् by VIII. 2. 7. Why do we say 'in strong cases'? Observe राजानि (Loc-Sing); सामानि (Loc. Sing). Why do we say 'but not in the Vocative Singular'? Observe ह राजन् ! ह तक्षन् !

वा पूर्वस्य निगमे ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, प, पूर्वस्य, निगमे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्याचो नोपधाया निगमविषये सर्वनामस्थाने परतो इसंबुद्धौ वा शीर्यो भवति ॥

9. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel of a stem ending in न्, before the affixes of the strong-case, is optional in the Veda, when ष preceedes such a vowel.

Thus स तक्षाणं or तक्षाणं, तिष्ठन्तमवधीत् । ऋभुक्षणमिन्द्रम् ॥

Why do we say 'in the Veda'? In the secular literature we have तक्षा, तक्षाणौ तक्षाणः always.

सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ सान्त, महतः, संयोगस्य, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सकारान्तस्य संयोगस्य यो नेकारः महतश्च तस्यैषधाया शीर्यो भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो इसंबुद्धौ ॥

10. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स् elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases. Thus श्रेयान्, अशांसौ, अशांसः; अशांसि, पशांसि, यशांसि ॥ महत्—महान्, महान्तौ, महान्तः ॥ But हे श्रेयन्, हे महत् in Vocative Singular. The Nasal is inserted by VII. 1. 70.

अपलृत्वं च स्वसूनप्तु ने पृथ्वैष्टु क्षत्तु होतु पोतु प्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अप्, तृन्, तृच्, स्वसू, नप्तु, नेष्टु, त्वष्टु, क्षत्तु, होतु, पोतु, प्रशास्त्रृणाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप् इत्यतस्य तृजन्तस्य स्वसू नप्तु नेष्टु त्वष्टु क्षत्तु होतु पोतु प्रशास्त्रृ इत्येतेषां आकानामुपधाया शीर्घी भवति सर्वनामस्थाने परतो उसंबुद्धेण ॥

11. In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative Singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसू, नप्तु, नेष्टु, त्वष्टु, क्षत्तु, होतु, पोतु and प्रशास्त्रृ ॥

Thus आपः तिष्ठन्ति ॥ Some would have it even in compounds ; as बह्वाम्पि तडागानि ॥ The Samāsānta rule is not applied here, because it is *anitya*. If it be considered *nitya*, then also there is lengthening, but without the addition of the nasal. तत्र समासान्तो विधिरनिय इति समासान्तो न क्रियते । नियमपि च तु मम कृत्वा दीर्घत्वमिष्यते । तृन् । कर्त्तारौ कर्तान् । वशिसारौ जनापवाशान् । कर्त्तारः । तृच् । कर्त्तारौ कर्तस्य । कर्त्तारः । हत्तारौ भारस्य, हत्तारः । स्वसू । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । नप्तु । नप्ता । नप्तारौ । नेष्टु । नेष्टारौ । नेष्टारः । त्वष्टु । त्वष्टारौ । त्वष्टारः । क्षत्तु । क्षत्तारौ । क्षत्तारः । होतु । होतारौ । होतारः । पोतु । पोतारौ । पोतारः । प्रशास्त्रृ । प्रशास्तारौ । प्रशास्तारः । नप्त्रासीनां ग्रहणमव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे विध्यर्थम् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । एवं भूतानामन्येषां संज्ञा शब्दानां शीर्घी मा भूविति । पितरौ । पितरः । मातरौ । मातरः । असंबुद्धाविति क्रिम् । हेकर्त्तः । हेस्वसः ॥

If the words नप्तु &c. be considered as रूढि, not derived from any root, then their enumeration is here for the sake of Vidhi (injunction) ; if they be considered as derivative words formed by Unṣadi affixes, then their enumeration is for the sake of niyama (restriction), so that other words formed similarly are not to be governed by this rule. As पितरौ, पितरः, मातरौ, मातरः ॥ Why do we say ‘not in the Vocative Singular’? Observe हे कर्त्तः, हे स्वसः ॥ In the above examples अह is substituted for क्त by VII. 3. 110.

इन्हन्पूर्यमाणं शौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, हन्, पूर्य अर्यमाणं, शौ, (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ इन् हन् पूर्षन् अर्यमन् इत्येवमन्नानामुक्तानां शौ परत उपधाया शीर्घी भवति ॥

•12. The penultimate vowel is lengthened before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूर्षन् or अर्यमन् ॥

According to the maxim (See VI. 4. 14 also) that “अन्, इन्, शस्, मन् प्रह्लान्यर्थवत् चानयंकेन च तस्त चिर्धि प्रयोजयन्ति”, the employment of इन् in this sūtra includes and means “words ending in the syllable इन्” ॥ As regards the rest (हन् &c.), the affix शि (Neuter Pl.) is never added to them alone, but when they are parts of a compound. Thus हन् is a noun formed by the addition of

the affix किंश् to the root हृ; and the affix K'vip is added to it only then, when it is preceded by another word like "Brahma" &c. See III. 2. 87. Similarly the words पूषन् and वर्यमन् are masculine and cannot take the Neuter Plural affix शि in their original state. They must be parts of a neuter compound, to admit this affix. Hence we have used words "when the stem ends in इन् &c."

Thus बहुदण्डीनि and बहुच्छशीणि । बहुवृत्ताणि । बहुभूषणाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बहुर्यमाणि ॥ सिद्धे सत्यारम्भो नियमार्थः । इन्हं न्यौर्यम्णापुषधायाः शावेष शीर्षो भवति नान्यत्र । इण्डनौ । छविणौ । वृत्तहणौ । पूषणौ । वर्यमणौ ॥

Though this result could have been obtained by VI. 4. 8, the special mention of these words shows that except in Accusative and Nom. Pl. the lengthening does not take place in other strong cases. As शृण्डनौ, छविणौ, वृत्तहणौ, पूषणौ, वर्यमणौ ॥

Karika :—Regarding the rule of lengthening taught about इन् &c here, let the wise reader, after making a restrictive rule with regard to सुट् (sarvanāmas thāna) affixes in general, make again another rule regarding the affix शि in particular, (i. e., make a yoga-bibhāga). By so doing, the form भूषणनि (Loc. sin.) of the Achārya, will not be found fault with.

2. (But if yoga-vibhaga be not made) then I rule that the anuvritti of सुट् being dropped, let the rule be made with regard to शि affix in general (without regarding it as a Sarvanāmāsthāna affix). And as the rule of lengthening applies to penultimates, there would arise no fault, if the vowel of इन् is lengthened before the demonstrative affix ए (in words like वृत्तहायते=वृत्तह इय आचयत, This refers to VII, 4. 25).

3. Or if the anuvritti of सुट् (Sarvanāmāsthāna) be taken into this Sūtra, because of the context, then the mention of शि in this Sūtra, (would be redundant, because the word Sarvanāmāsthāna includes it, so far as the strong cases are concerned) but it would find scope and utility in preventing the lengthening in those cases to which the context of Sarvanāmāsthāna does not apply. That is, the Sarvanāmāsthāna will be restricted with regard to इन् &c to the affix शि and not to सुट् affixes generally.

Note :—शि is the affix of the Nom. and Acc. Pl. in Neuter (VII. 1. 20.) It is a Sarvanāmāsthāna by I. 1. 42. But the word Sarvanāmāsthāna may be read into this sutra from the preceding VI. 4. 8. What is then the necessity of employing शि in this? The above karika answers this.

In the case of हृ ending words, the subsequent rule VI. 4. 15, which required the lengthening of the penultimate vowel before an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ्, is however debarred by the present restrictive rule. Thus the Locative Singular (क्ति) is वृत्तहनि, and भूषणहनि ॥ How do you make this? By splitting up the present sutra into two parts, the first part being इन् हृ पूषार्यम्णाम्, and the second being शि ॥ It would then mean :—

(1) The penultimate vowel is lengthened, in strong cases only and no where else, when the stem ends in इन् or हन् or in पूषन् or अर्यमन् ॥ (2) So also it is lengthened before the strong case शि and no where else. These two restrictive rules therefore, would debar all other rules of penultimate lengthening which would otherwise have been applicable. But a rule which does not relate to *penultimate* vowel, is not debarred by this restriction, but does take effect. Thus वृत्रहायते, भूणहायते denominative verbs in कथङ् ॥

Or even though the Sarvanāmāsthāna may be read into the sūtra by anuvṛtti, yet this may be considered a Restrictive Rule in general, and not only with regard to शि considered a Sarvanāmāsthāna or a Neuter affix शि is the Sarvanāmāsthāna affix of the Neuter : which has no other Sarvanāmāsthāna, therefore, it is a general Niyamā and not only a Sarvanāmāsthāna or a Neuter niyama. Therefore in this niyama the word “नपुंसकस्य”—“of the Neuter”—is not to be taken.

For if it be taken, then the Sūtra would mean, the neuter stems in इन् &c are lengthened in शि only and no where else. The result would be that in examples like भूणहनि ब्राह्मणकूले (loc. sin), there would be no lengthening at all (i.e. we shall never have the form भूणहानि in loc. sin. by force of VI. 4. 15); moreover, by so doing, there would arise this anomaly also, that words other than Neuter would also not be lengthened.

The force of the definition of Sarvanāmāsthāna applies to Neuter also in certain cases, therefore, any rule (niyama) made with regard to Sarvanāmāsthāna would apply to Neuter also.

**सौ.च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सौ, च, (उपधाया: दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सावसंबुद्धौ परते इन्हन्पूर्षार्थमाणुपधाया शीर्षो भवति ॥**

13. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus दण्डी, वृत्रहा, पूषा, अर्यमा ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2. 7, and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. In the Vocative singular we have हे शप्तिन्, हे पूषन्, हे वृत्रहन् हे अर्यमन् ॥

**अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतु, असन्तस्य, च, अधातोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अतु अस इत्येवमन्तस्य अधातोर्हत्यायाः सावसंबुद्धौ परते शीर्षो भवति ॥**

14. In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant (अस्) does not belong to a root.

Thus भवान् (with उभतुप् Un I. 63 from भा to shine), कृतवान् (with कृतव्यु) ; गोमान् and यवमान् (with मत्पुप्) ॥ The तुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII. 1. 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the

vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all. असः—as सुपथा॑; सुवया॑; सुभोत्ता॑॥ Why do we say ‘not belonging to a dhātu’? Observe पिण्डम् where सु belongs to the root पस् (पिण्डं पसते), so also अर्मवः (अर्म वस्ते)॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c is also included here, on the strength of the maxim “whenever अस् or इत् or अत् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1. 72, something that ends with these, therefore they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning”. (अनिनस्मन् प्राहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्ति)॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever ends in अत् whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as उवतु, न्तवतु &c, or which assumes the form अत् in grammatical inflection, such as मनुष् which in upadeśa ends in अतुष्, but becomes अत् in प्रयोग, or application. In Votative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपथः this rule not applying there..

अनुनासिकस्य किञ्चलोः कङ्गिति ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुनासिकस्य, कि, श्लोः, कङ्गिति, (दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकान्तस्थाक्षर्य उपधाया शीर्षे भवति किंप्रत्यये परतो झलादौ च कङ्गिति ॥

15. The penultimate vowel of a stem, ending in a nasal, is lengthened before the affix कि, and before an affix having an indicatory क् or छ्, which begins with a consonant other than a semivowel or a nasal.

Thus प्रशान् and प्रतान् from the roots शम् and तम् by VIII. 2. 64. So also before an affix beginning with a श्ल् consonant (any consonant but a nasal and a semivowel). As शान्तः (with न्त्), शान्तवान् (with न्तवतु), शान्त्वा (with क्त्वा), and शान्तिः (with न्तिः). These are all formed with कित् affixes. As to डित् affixes we have शंशान्तः and तन्तान्तः formed by तस् 3rd Person Dual added to the Intensive roots शम् and तम्॥ तस् is डित् by I. 2. 4. Why do we say ‘ending in a Nasal’? Observe ओऽनपक्, पक्षः, पक्षवान्॥ Why do we say ‘before किं and jhalādi affix’? Observe गम्यते, रम्यते॥ Why do we say a डित् or a कित् affix? Observe गन्ता and रन्ता॥

अञ्ज्ञनगमां सनि ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्, हन्, गमाम्. सनिं, (वा दीर्घः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तानामङ्गानां हनिगम्यो च सनि झलादौ परे वा शीर्षे भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ गमेरिडां इशस्यति वन्तव्यम् ॥

16, The lengthening of the vowel takes place in the case of a stem ending in a vowel, as well as of हन् and गम्, when the Desiderative affix सन् being jhalādi (i. e. not taking the augment इट्) follows.

Thus of roots ending in vowel we have:—विशीषति, तुष्टिति, चिक्रीषति, जिहीषति (VII. 1. 100); of हन् and गम्, जिथांसति, and अधिजिगेंसते॥

Vārt :—The rule applies to that गम् which is the substitute of इड् (II. 4. 48) ‘to study’. Therefore, not here, संजिगंसते वर्तो मात्रा (cf. VII. 2. 58); In the Veda we read स्वर्गं लूकं समजिगांसत्, where though गम् means ‘to go’ and is not, therefore, the substitute of इड्, the lengthening takes place by the rule VI. 3. 137. Or the word अन् should not be added in the sūtra at all: which should be read as हनगमां सनि meaning “There is lengthening of the stem when the Desiderative सन् follows”. This would apply of course, to vowel-ending stems, because the sentence would mean that, for there cannot be lengthening of a consonant. This will apply to गम् also, in this way :—“A stem ending in a vowel is lengthened in the Desiderative, and so also of गम् which is a substitute of the vowel-stem इ”॥ In this way, we may see, that there is no necessity of the Vārtika.

तनोतेर्विभाषा ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोतेः, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेरङ्गस्य सनि श्लाहौ विभाषा रीर्थो भवति ॥

17. The lengthening of the stem of तभ् is optional, before the Desiderative सन्, when it does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus तितांसति or तितंसति ॥ But in तितनिषति no alternative is allowed, as इट् is added to सन् by VII. 2. 49 Vārt: optionally.

ऋमश्च क्लि ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋमः, च, क्लि, (क्लिलि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम उपधाया विभाषा रीर्थो भवति त्वाप्रत्यये श्लाहौ परतः ॥

18. The penultimate of ऋम् is optionally lengthened, before the affix ल्ला, when it is without the augment इट् ॥

Thus क्रन्त्वा or क्रान्त्वा; but क्रमिला only, with इट् augment. But when क्ला is replaced by स्थ॒प्, the rule does not apply; as प्रकस्य, उपकस्य ॥ This is on the maxim अन्तरङ्गानपि विधीन् बहिरङ्गोऽस्थ॒प् वाधते ‘a bahiranga substitution of स्थ॒प् supersedes even antaranga rule’.

च्छ्वोः शुडनुनासिके च ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्छ्वोः, शृणु, अनुनासिके, च, (किञ्चलोः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छ इत्यतस्य सतुरङ्गस्य वकारतस्य च स्थाने वयासंख्य श ऊट् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, अनुनासिकाहौ प्रत्यये परतः: क्वाहौ श्लाहौ च क्लितिः ॥

19. For च्छ्व् (including the augment तुक्) is substituted श्, and for च is substituted ऊट्, before an affix beginning with a Nasal, as well as before क्लि and jhalâdi डित् and कित् affixes (VI. 4. 15).

Thus प्रभः, विभः from प्रच्छु and विच्छु, with the affix नट् (III. 3. 90) the च्छु being replaced by श् ॥ Similarly from the root स्थ॒प् we have स्थोनः thus: सिथ् + न (Un III. 9.) = सि + ऊट् + न = स्थृ + न = स्थोनः (VII. 3. 84). Here the ऊट् is added to the stem prior to the scope being given to the guṇa rule of VII. 3. 86, otherwise the form would, ‘be सिथ् + न = सेथ् + अ = से + ऊट् + न ॥ Having thus added ऊट्,

before scope could be given to the *guṇa* rule VII. 3. 86, we make sandhi of सि + ऊ = स्यू, because semivowel substitution is antaranga operation and of wider scope than *guṇā*, and the maxim of वार्णवान् बलीया भवति has no scope here. "An operation which is taught in the *Angādhikāra*, and affects the anga or stem, possesses greater force than an operation which concerns a combination of letters (i. e. is taught in a sandhi rule)".

With क्रिप् we have शङ्कप्रश् formed with क्रिप् (Un II. 57) added to प्रच्छ, there is no vocalisation of the semivowel ऊ, and there is lengthening of ऊ, and च्छ changed to श. So also गोविश् ॥

Of the change of व into ऊ we have the following :—भक्षयूः, हिरण्यदूः (दित् + क्रिप् = दि + ऊ = यू) ॥ Here the ऊ substitution is Bahiranga, and दि + ऊ = यू, the change of इ into य is antaranga; therefore on the maxim of वासिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे (a bahiranga is non-existent for the purposes of an antaranga), there should be no change of इ into य, for ऊ is non-existent. That maxim is however set aside by नाजानन्तेये बाह्यपूर्व प्रकल्पिः "A bahiranga operation is not regarded as bahiranga, and consequently asiddha, when an antaranga operation is to take effect, which depends on the immediate sequence of a vowel and something else".

So also before a' jhalādi affix; as प्रच्छ + ऊ = पृष्ठः, पृष्ठवान् (क्षवतु), पृष्ठा (क्षत्वा); here च्छ is changed to श, there is vocalisation by VI. 1. 16, and श changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36.

So also व is changed to ऊ as, शूतः, शूतवान्, शूत्वा ॥

When the affixes are not कित् or कित्, the rule does not apply: as शुभ्याम्, शुभिः ॥ Some do not read the anuvritti of कित् and कित् into this sūtra; and explain शुभ्याम् and शुभिः by VI. 1. 131: ऊ short being substituted for व of दित् ॥

In "छशां ष" (VIII. 2. 36) the letter ष should not be taken, because by the force of the present sūtra, श is ordained to come every where in the place of ष ॥

The indicatory इ in ऊइ is for the sake of distinguishing this ऊ in sūtras like एते धस्यूद मु (VI. 1. 89).. In the sutra वाह ऊइ (VI. 4. 132) there is also indicatory इ ॥

ज्वरत्वरथिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च ॥ २० ॥ पदान्ति ॥ ज्वर, त्वर, भिवि, अवि, मव्याम, उपधायाः, च, (किञ्चलोः वस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वर त्वर श्रिवि अव मव इत्यत्वामङ्गानां वकारस्य उपधायाश्च स्थाने ऊडित्युमारंशो भवति क्वापरतो उत्तुनासिके श्लारौ च क्रडिति ॥

20. In ज्वर, त्वर, श्रिवि, अव, and मव्, before the above-mentioned affixes (किव, a Nasal or a jhalādi 'कित्' or 'कित्') there is the single substitution of ऊइ for the व and the vowel preceding the final consonant.

Thus शूः, शूरी, शूरः, शूर्तिः ॥ श्वरः—शूः, शूरी, शूरः, शूरिः ॥ श्रिविः—शूः, शूरी, शूरः, शूरतः ॥ शूतवान्, शूतिः ॥ अदः—जः, उदौ, उवः, ऊतिः ॥ मधः—शूः, शूरी, शूरः, शूर्तः, शूर्तवान्, शूर्तिः ॥ ऊतरस्त्वरो रूपधा वकारात् परा, श्रिविव वमवां पूर्वा ॥

In ऊत् and श्वर् the ऊ replaces श् as well as the अ which follows श्; and in श्रिवि, अद् and मध् it replaces the श् and the vowel इ and अ which precede श् ॥ Another reading is सिव् ॥

राष्ट्रोपः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्, लोपः, (किञ्चलोः) ॥ शूर्तिः ॥ रेकादुत्तरथेऽङ्गुलींपो भवति कर्ता परतो श्लारी कृडिति च परतः ॥

21. After श् there is the elision of छ् and श् before 'कि�' and jhalādi 'कित्' and 'कित्' affixes.

Thus from शुर्णा—शूर्, शूरी, शूरः, शूर्तः, शूर्तवान्, शूर्तिः, the श् of Nishṭhā is not changed into न by VII. 2: 57. So also from हुर्णा we have हूर्, हूरौ, हूरः, हूर्णः, हूर्णवान्, हूर्णिः ॥ So also the श् is elided, as from तूर्णीः—तूर्, तूरौ, तूरः, तूर्णः, तूर्णवान्, तूर्णिः ॥ शुर्णीः—शूर्, शूरौ, शूरः, शूर्णः, शूर्णवान्, शूर्णिः ॥

असिद्धवदत्रास्त् भात् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ असिद्धवत्, अत्र, आभात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असिद्धवदित्यथमधिकारो यत्तित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आ भाध्याथपरिसमाप्तेस्तद् असिद्धवदेवित्यथ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बुग्युटादुवह्ययोः सिद्धौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. The change, which a stem will undergo by the application of any of the rules from this sūtra upto VI. 4. 129, is to be considered as not to have taken effect, when we have to apply any other rule of this very section VI. 4. 23 to 129.

This is an adhikāra rule. The above translation is given according to Prof. Bohtlingk. According to Kāsika the आसिद्धवत् extends up to the end of the chapter. Dr. Ballantyne translates it thus :—"The rules, reckoning from this one to the end of the chapter, are called Abhiya, because the chapter ends with a series of rules dependant on the aphorism 'bhasya' VI. 4. 129. When that (i. e. one of the Abhiya rules) is to be brought into operation, having the same place for coming into operation as another Abhiya, which has already taken effect, that one which has taken effect, shall be regarded as not having taken effect".

The word आभात् means 'up to अ' i. e. upto VI. 4. 129, in which last sūtra the word अ occurs : i. e. in applying the rules taught upto VI. 4. 129. The word अत्र shows that the two rules must have the same आध्य or place of operation, where their places of operation are different, they are not asiddha to each other. The word आसिद्ध shows that an utsarga or general rule must take effect, as if existing in spite of a special rule, and that an 'ādeśa' or substitution taught by another rule should not be considered to have taken effect in applying the special rule. Thus in forming एषि and शापि (Imperative 2nd person)

ए is first substituted for अस् 'to be' by VI. 4. 119 : and शा for शास् by VI. 4. 35 and then is वि added by VI. 4. 101. The latter rule says that वि is added in the Imperative, only after those roots which end in a consonant of स्फूर्त् class. Now अस् and शास् end in a ज्वल् consonant, and can take वि, but their substitute ए and शा end in a vowel and not a consonant and should not take वि ॥ The present rule helps us here, and for the application of वि (VI. 4. 101) the substitution of ए for अस् or शा for शास् should be considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect. Similarly in आगहि (Vedic Imperative, शप् being elided by II. 4. 73) and जहि from गम् and हन्, the nasal being elided in the case of गम्, VI. 4. 36 and ज being substituted for हन् (VI. 2. 36) we have the stems आग and ज, which ending in अ would require the elision of वि by VI. 4. 105. But since the change of ज &c is not regarded as having been accomplished, the elision of वि does not take place.

Why do we say आभात् 'up to VI. 4. 129'? In applying any other rule the changes ordained by abhiya rules would not be considered as asiddha. Thus आभाजि and रागः from भजश् and रजज् ॥ Here the nasals of राजि and भजन् have been elided by VI. 4. 27-28 and 33 before the affixes उच्च and चित्त respectively, and we have the stems रज्, and भज् to which rule VII. 2. 116 applies and we have Vṛiddhi of अ preceding the final consonant. Had the elision of the nasal been considered as non-effective for the purposes of VII. 2. 116, then अ could not have taken Vṛiddhi, as it would not then be उपथा or penultimate.

Why do we use the word उच्च in the aphorism? The rules are asiddha to each other with regard to a common place of operation and not otherwise. Thus पा+वस् (कूपुष्)+अस् (शास् Acc. Pl.) = पपा+उस्+अस् (VI. 4. 131 'vocalisation of व'). If this उ substitute be considered as asiddha for the purposes of sūtra VI. 4. 64, then we cannot elide the आ of पा, because आ is not then followed by a vowel (उ being non-existent). उ however is not considered as asiddha, and आ being thus elided, we have पुष्पः in पुष्पः पक्षय ॥ Similarly चित्त+वस्+शस्=चित्तचित्त+उस्+शस् ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we apply rule VI. 4. 82, and substitute अ for उ as चिच्छुषः पक्षय ॥ Similarly लू+वस्+अस् लुलु+उस्+अस्=लुलुषुषः ॥ Here also उ is not considered asiddha, and we change the ऊ of लू into उव् by VI. 4. 77. In all the above three cases, the elision of आ, or change of इ to अ, or of ऊ to उव्, takes place in reference to वस्, while the samprasāraṇa of व takes place with reference to the Accusative plural case-ending अस् which makes the stem Bha. So they have not the same आभय ॥ Nor does the maxim of असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे apply here, because the special maxim of Abhiya governs the sūtras of this section, so there cannot be the relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga among these sūtras, simultaneously with their being asiddha to each other.

Vart:—The substitute युक् (VI. 4. 88), and युद् (VI. 4. 63) should however be considered as not asiddha, and rule VI. 4. 77 teaching उवद् and VI. 4. 82, teaching य् substitution should not be applied simultaneously with them. Thus शू—बभूव, बभूवतुः बभूवः with युक्, and उपदिशीये, उपदिशीयाते, उपदिशीयरे with युद् of VI. 4. 63. In the case of शू, when युक् is added, there is not the addition of उवद्, and in the case of शीड्, when युद् is added, there is not यणादेश ॥

The आ in आभान् has the force of limit inclusive, so that, the asiddha rule applies to the sūtras governed by अ ॥

आन्वलोपः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वात्, न लोपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवित अमयसुत्सृष्टमकारो गृह्णते तत उच्चरम्य नकारम्य लोपो भवति ॥

23. After न, which is added to the roots of the seventh class as a characteristic (i. e. the vikaraṇa अम्), there is the elision of the following न ॥

Thus अनक्ति and भनक्ति from अञ्ज 'to unoint', and भञ्ज 'to break'. Thus अञ्ज + अम् + तिष् = अनञ्ज + ति (I. 1. 47) = अनञ्ज + ति (VI. 4. 23) = अनक्ति ॥ So also हिनस्ति from हिसि (हिन्स्) 'to injure'. Why do we say 'after अ' and not merely 'after न', without the indicatory श? Observe यज्ञानाम्, यद्वानाम्, where the न of नाम् is not elided after the न of यज्ञ and यद्वा, the lengthening of अ by VII. 3. 102 being sthānivat would not have prevented the elision. In the case of विभानाम् and प्रभानाम् (formed by विभ + नाम् and प्रभ + नाम्) also, the न of नाम् is not elided after अ of विभ ॥ For the अ of the sūtra is the *technical* अ the vikaraṇa, and not any combination of the letters श and न ॥ The pratipadokta maxim applies here. लक्षणप्रतिपर्वाक्तयोः पतिपर्वाक्तव्यव महणम् ॥

अनिदित्तां हल उपधायाः क्षडिति ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनिदित्ताम्, हलः, उपधायाः, क्षडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनिदित्तामङ्गानां हलन्तानामुपधाया नकारम्य लोपो भवति क्षडिति प्रत्यये परतः ॥

यार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनिदित्तां नंलोप लङ्गिकम्योरुपतापशरीरविकारयोरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रज्जेणौ सूगरमणउपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यत् ॥ वा० ॥ घिनुणिं च रज्जेरुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ रजकरजनरजः सूपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

24. "In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory श (VII. 1. 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ड् follows.

Thus from स्त्वन् and ध्वन् are formed स्त्वः and ध्वः with न्, स्त्वयते, ध्वयते with यक्, सनीध्वस्यते, इनीध्वस्यते with यड् the नी being added by VII. 4. 84. But नन्यते and नानन्यते, the न् is not elided, the root being written in the Dhātupāṭha as दुणिति संस्कृतौ, and न being added by VII. 1. 58. Why do we say ending in a consonant? Observe नीयते, नैनीयते from नी which has a penulti-

mate nasal, but ends in a vowel. Why do we say 'penultimate'? Observe रथते, नामस्ते ॥ Why 'do we say having an indicatory क or छ? Observe संसन्, धंसन् with ल्पुट् ॥'

Vārt :—The roots लङ् (लगि) and कम् (कपि) are exceptions, where meaning 'to feel pain or difficulty' and 'a disease of the body'. These, though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha with an indicatory ह, are treated as exceptions to the rule of अनिदित्: thus विलगितः and विकपितः, when not having the above meanings, we have विलङ्कृतं and विकम्पितं ॥

Vārt :—The causative of the root रज्ज, loses its nasal when meaning 'to hunt deer': as, रजयति मृगान् 'he hunts the deer', but रजयति वर्णाणि 'he colors the clothes'.

Vārt :—रज्ज loses its nasal before the affix, पिन्तुण्, as रागी ॥

Vārt :—The words रजकः, रजनम्, and रजः are formed from रज्ज by the elision of the nasal.

दंशसञ्चस्वञ्चां शपि ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दंश, सञ्च, स्वञ्चाम्, शपि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ दंश सञ्च व्यज्ज इत्येतेषामङ्गानां शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्थ लोपो भवति ॥

25. The nasal of दंश्, सञ्च् and स्वञ्च् is elided before the vikaranya शप् of the roots of the 1st class.

Thus दंशति, सञ्चति and परिष्वजते for the change of the स् of सञ्च् to ष see VIII. 3. 65

रञ्जेश्व ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रञ्जेः, च, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रञ्जेश्व शपि परत उपधाया नकारस्थ लोपो भवति ॥

26. The nasal of रञ्ज् is also elided before शप् ॥

As रञ्जति, रजतः, रजनिति ॥ The separation of this from the preceding is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛtti of रञ्जि only runs and not of दानि &c.

घञ्जि च भावकरणयोः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्जि, च, भावकरणयोः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भावकरणवाचिनि घञ्जि परतो रञ्जेश्वपथाया नकारस्थ लोपो भवति ॥

27. The penultimate nasal of रञ्ज् is elided before घञ्ज्, when the word formed with it expresses a state or an instrument.

Thus रागः 'passion, color, or the coloring stuff'. Thus आश्वर्यो रागः, विचित्र रागः denote भाव, while रञ्जेत्तेनिति रागः denotes instrument. The घञ्ज् is added by III. 3. 121; and च changed to छ by VII. 3. 52. But रञ्जः=रजनिति तस्मिन् 'a theatre;

स्यदो जवे ॥ २८ ॥ स्यदः, जवे, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जवे उभिर्येऽस्य इति घञ्जि निपात्यते । स्यदेवलोपो वृद्धपभावश्च ॥

28. The word स्यद् is formed by घञ्ज् in the sense of 'speed'.

This word is derived from स्यन्द्, the nasal is elided, and the Vriddhi prohibited irregularly. Though the अर्धाध्वातुका affix घञ् causes here the elision of a portion of the root, viz of न् of स्यन्द्, yet rule I. 1. 4 does not apply here. That rule prohibits Guṇa and Vṛiddhi, only in case of इक् vowels, here the Vṛiddhi is prevented with regard to अ ॥ The prevention of this Vṛiddhi is irregular and not governed by I. 1. 4. Thus गोस्थःः अश्वस्थः meaning "cow-speed," "horse-speed," but तैलस्यन्दः, and घृतस्यन्दः meaning "dripping of oil or ghee".

अवोदैधौशप्रश्वथहिमश्वथाः ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अवोद्, एध, आश, प्रश्वथ, हिमश्वथः वृत्तिः ॥ अवोद् एध शोषप्रश्वथ हिमश्वथ इत्येते निपातन्ते ।

29. अवोद्, एध, आश, प्रश्वथ, and हिमश्वथ are irregularly formed by the elision of न ॥

Thus उन्द्—अव + उन्द् + घञ् = अवोदः ; हन्ध + घञ् = एधः, the guṇa, is irregular, for I. 1. 4 applied here, and prevented guṇa. उन्द् + मन्—आशः (Uṇadi मन्). प्र + श्वन्ध + घञ् = प्रश्वथः (The want of Vṛiddhi is the irregularity). So also हिमश्वथः ॥

नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अञ्चेः, पूजायाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अञ्चेः पूजायामर्थे नकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

30. The nasal of अञ्चे is not elided when the meaning is to honor.

Thus अञ्जित्वा अस्य गुरवः, अञ्जित्वमिव शिरो वहनि ॥ The इट् augment is added by VII. 2. 53. When the sense is not that of 'honoring', we have उद्दकमुद्दकं कुपान् "the water was drawn from the well." Here the इट् is prohibited by VII. 2. 15.

क्लि स्कन्दिस्यन्दोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लि, स्कन्दि, स्यन्दोः, (न लोपः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ त्वाप्रद्येय परतः स्कन्द स्यन्द इत्येतर्यानकारलोपो न भवति ॥

31. स्कन्द् and स्यन्द् retain their nasal before the affix क्लि ॥

Thus स्कन्द्वा, and स्यन्द्वा; or स्यन्द्वा, the इट् being added when स्यन्द् is considered as having an indicatory ऊ in the dhatupātha. When इट् is added, त्वा is no longer कित् by virtue of the rule I. 2. 18, and elision would not take place, for no rule of elision would apply in that case.

जान्तनशां विभाषा ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान्त, नशाम्, विभाषा (न लोपः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ जान्तानामङ्गानां नशेश्च त्वाप्रत्ययं परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो न भवति ॥

32. The nasal may be optionally elided before क्ला in a root ending in ज् and in नश् ॥

Thus रक्तन्वा or रत्वा, महन्वा or भत्वा, नश्वा or नंश्वा See II VII. 1. 60 for the augment न् in नश् ॥ When इट् comes, we have नशित्वा ॥

भञ्जेश्च चिणि ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्जेः, च, चिणि, (विभाषा न लोपः) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्जेश्च चिणि परतो विभाषा नकारलोपो भवति ॥

33. The nasal may be optionally elided in भञ्ज्य before the third person Passive of the Aorist in चिण् (इँ)

Thus अभाज्जिं or अभाज्जि। This is an aprāpta vibhāshā, and teaches for the first time the elision of नःih a certain contingency.

शास्त्र इद्गृहलोः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शास्त्रः, इत्, अङ्ग्, हलोः, (कृडिति) ॥ वृन्तिः ॥ शास्त्र उपधाया इकारादेशो भवति अङ्गि परतो हलादी च कृडिति ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्वाँ च शास्त्र इत्वं भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ किंवॄ प्रत्यये तस्यापि भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

34. Before the Aorist in अङ्ग् and before an affix beginning with a consonant having an indicatory क् or ङ्, there is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास्त्रः॥

Thus अन्वशिष्टन्, अन्वशिष्टताम्, and अन्वशिष्टन्; so also शिष्टः (with न्त्), शिष्टवान् (with न्तवान्), तौ शिष्टः वयं शिष्टम् (with the tense-affixes तः and मः which are डित् by I. 2. 4). The सः is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 60. Why do we say 'before the affixes of अ Aorist and consonant affixes'? Observe शास्त्रिः, शास्त्रस्तु, शास्त्रुः॥

Vart:—There is the substitution of इ for the vowel of शास्त्रः before the affix किंवॄ ॥ As आर्यादीः = आर्यान् शास्त्रिः ॥ So also मित्रशीः ॥ The form is thus evolved, शास्त्र + किंवॄ = शिष्ट + o = शिष्ट + o = शीः (the short इ being lengthened by VIII. 2. 76).

The root शास्त्रः is that root which takes अङ्ग् aorist; namely the second Adādi शास्त्रः (शास्त्र अनुशिष्टौ), and not the Bhvādi and the first Adādi शास्त्रः (आङ्ग् शास्त्र इच्छायाम्) ॥ Therefore not here आशास्त्रे, आशास्त्रमानः ॥

Vart:—But before किंवॄ, this शास्त्रः also is changed, as शार्षीः, आशिष्टौ, आशिष्टः॥ Or this is an irregular form indicated by the author in the word शिष्टाशीः used in VIII. 2. 104.

शा हौ ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शा, हौ, ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ शास्त्रो हौ परतः शा इत्यथमादेशो भवति ॥

35. Before the Imperative affix हि, शा is substituted for शास्त्रः॥

Thus अनुशाधि, प्रशाधि ॥ The हि is changed to षि by VI. 4. 101. See VI 4. 22. The anuvritti of उपधायाः is not here; so शा is substituted in the room of the full word शास्त्रः and not only for the penultimate vowel of शास्त्रः॥ The anuvritti of किंवॄ and डित् also is not here. Therefore, when this हि is treated as पित् (III. 4. 88), then too the substitution takes place, though a पित् Sārvadhātuka is not डित् (I. 2. 4). Thus शाधि is also found in the Vedas as having acute on the first syllable, which can only be when षि is पित् and consequently anudātta (III. 1. 4).

हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्तेः, जः, (हौ) ॥

वृन्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जातोर्ज इत्यथमादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

36. ज is substituted for हन् before हि ॥

Thus जहि शब्दः ॥

अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो इलि कृडिति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥
अनुदात्तोपदेश, वनति, तनोत्यादीनाम, अनुनासिकलोपः, इलि, कृडिति ॥
वृत्तः ॥ अनुशास्त्रोपदेशनामझानां वनतस्तनोत्यादीनां चानुनासिकलोपो भवति इलाद्वा कृडिति प्रयत्ने परतः ॥

37. The final nasal of those roots which in the Dhâtupâtha have an unaccented root-vowel, as well as of वन् and तन् &c, is elided before an affix beginning with a consonant (except a semi-vowel or nasal), when these have an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus यम् gives us यन्मा (with स्त्रा), यतः (with न्न), अतवान् (with न्नवत्), यतिः (with न्निर्). Similarly रम् gives us रत्वा, रतः, रतवान्, रतिः ॥ यम्, रम्, नम्, गम्, हन् and मन् which end in a nasal are to be considered as unaccented roots, though taught as accented in the Dhâtupâtha. So also of वन्: i. e. वतिः with न्निर्; with न्निच् the nasal is not elided as वन्ति; (VI. 4. 39): and before other jhalâdi affixes व, retains न् as all those affixes take the augment इट् ॥ The तनादि roots belong to the eighth class. Thus ततः, ततवान्. The Tanâdi roots, are ten in number, तन् सन्, क्षण्, क्षिण्, क्षण्, तृण्, धृण्, वन्, मन् and कृण् ॥ Of these सन् takes long आ also (VI. 4. 45). क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्, क्षण्—क्षतः, क्षतवान्; तृण्—तृतः, तृतवान्; धृण्—धृतः धृतवान्; वन्—वतः, वतवान्; मन्—मतः, मतवान् ॥

Why do we say before a डित् affix? Observe अतत, अतथाः (I. 2. 11) these affixes are डित् ॥ So also not in शान्तः, शान्तवान्, तान्तः, तान्तवान्, रान्तः, रान्तवान्, not being anudâtta in the Dhâtupâtha. If the root does not end in a nasal, the rule does not apply, as in पवतः, पवववान् ॥ If the affix does not begin with a *jhal* consonant, the rule does not apply: as गम्यते, रम्यते ॥ If the affix is not कित् or डित् the rule does not apply: as, यन्ता, यन्तव्यम् ॥ Why do we say "anudâtta by *upadesa*"? So that the rule may apply to गम् root, as गतिः, but not गम्त्, as शान्तः शान्तवान् ॥ For गतिः is formed by न्निर् affix and is accented with udâtta on the first, but it is a secondary udâtta and not of upadeśa or dhâtupâtha, and does not prevent the elision of म् of गम् ॥ Similarly शम् is udâtta-upadesa though in शान्त it has become अनुदात्तः ॥ The former though taught in the Dhâtupâtha as udâtta, has been specifically mentioned above as anudâtta, and शम् is taught as udatta in the Dhâtupâtha, and no where else taught as anudâtta.

वा ल्यपि ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ल्यपि, ॥

वृत्तः ॥ ल्यपि परतो अनुशास्त्रोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो वा भवति ॥

38. The nasal of the above roots (i. e. anudâtta ending in a nasal, and वन् and तनादि) is optionally elided before the Absolutive affix ल्यप् ॥

This is a vyavasthita-vibhâshâ. The option applies to roots ending in म्. In the case of roots ending in other nasals, the elision is compulsory. Thus प्रथत् or प्रथम्, प्रस्त् or प्रस्तम्, प्रणत् or प्रणम्, आगत् आगम्, but no option in आङ्गत्, प्रमत्, प्रवत्, प्रक्षत् ॥

न किञ्चि दीर्घश्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, किञ्चि, दीर्घः, च ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ किञ्चि परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो दीर्घश्च न भवति ।

39. Before the affix किञ्च्, the above roots neither drop their nasal nor lengthen their root-vowel.

The above roots i. e. anudâttopadesâ, ending in a nasal, and वन् and तनांि, do not lose their nasal before किञ्च्. Thus यन्ते, नन्ते, वन्ते ॥ The lengthening would have taken place by VI. 4. 15, when the nasal was not elided : that also is prohibited.

गमः क्वा ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, क्वौ, (अनुनासिकलोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनुनासिकलोपं इति वर्तते । ग्रमः क्वां परतो ऽनुनासिकलोपो भवति ।
वार्त्तिक स् ॥ गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ ऊङ्ग च गमादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. The nasal of गम् is always elided before कि ॥

Thus अङ्गगत्, कलङ्गगत्, अध्वगतो हरयः ॥ The त् is added by VI. 1. 71.

Vart :—It should be stated of गम् and the rest. The elision takes place here also संयत्, परीतत् ॥

Vart :—The nasal of गम् &c. is elided before ऊङ्गः, अङ्गेषुः ॥
विड्नोरनुनासिकस्यात् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विट्-चनोः, अनुनासिकस्य आत् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विटि चनो च प्रत्ययं परतो ऽनुनासिकान्तस्याङ्गस्याकार आदेशोभवति ॥

41. A stem ending in a nasal, and followed by the affix विट् or चन्, always substitutes long आ for its nasal.

Thus अद्वजाः, गोजाः, चतजाः, अद्विजाः, योषाः (e. g. गोषा इन्द्रानूदा असि Rig V.), कृपखाः, शतखाः, सहस्रखाः, दधिक्राः, अघेगा उत्तेताम् ॥ The affix विट् (which is totally elided) is added under III. 2. 67. The स of सन् is changed to ष by VIII. 3. 108. in गोषा ॥ With the affix चन् we have the following :—विजावा, अघेजावा (III. 2. 75). The repetition of the word अनुनासिक् in this sâtra shows that the limitation of anudâttopadesâ &c. which applied to the अनुनासिक् of sûtra VI. 4. 37 does not apply here.

जनसनखनां सन्द्वलोः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खनाम् सन्द्वलोः, (आत्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ जन सन खन इत्येतेषाम् ज्ञानां सनि द्विती द्विती द्विती प्रत्ययं परतः ओकार आदेशो भवति ।

42. The long आ is substituted for the final of जन्, सन् and खन् before the consonant beginning Desiderative affix सन्, and before any other affix beginning with a jhal consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ऊङ् ॥

Thus जातः, जातवान्, जातिः, सातः, सातवान्, सातिः, सिद्धासति; खातः, खातवान्, खातिः॥ In जन् and खन् the Desiderative does not begin with a consonant, but takes the augment ह्, the न् is not therefore elided, as जिज्ञनिषति, चिख्नुनिषति ॥ In the case of the root सन्, the Desiderative takes ह्, so we have two forms सिद्धासति and सिसनिषति (VII. 2. 49). The Desiderative has, therefore, been mentioned in the aphorism, only for the sake of the root सन् ॥

If the phrase सन्हस्तो be taken to mean 'the Desiderative beginning with a consonant', then we should read the anuvṛitti of स्त्रिल कृडति from the preceding sūtras, to complete the sense of this; and if the phrase means "when the Desiderative of a jhalādi affix follows", then we should qualify the word Desiderative by the word jhal from the preceding sūtras. Or we may divide the sūtra into two (1) Before a कित् or डित् jhalādi affix long आ is the substitute of the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan'. (2) And so is the case, when the Desiderative affix follows, not having the augment ह्, for then also the न् of 'jan', 'san' and 'khan' is replaced by long आ ॥

The न् of the root सन् would have required elision by VI. 4. 37, because this verb belongs to Tanādi class, still the आ substitution taught in this sūtra takes place, by preference, on the maxim of विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I. 4. 2). In fact, though in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22) one rule is considered as asiddha for the purposes of the operations of another rule, yet one rule *supersedes* another by the maxim of vpratisedha. That that maxim applies in this section also, is to be inferred from the employment of the term हल् in VI. 4. 66, which supersedes the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64, and substitutes instead the long ही ॥

ये विभाषा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, विभाषा, (जनसनखनाम् आत्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादौ छिक्ति प्रत्यये परतो जनसनखनामाकार आदशो भवति विभाषा ।

43. There is optionally the substitution of long आ for the finals of जन्, सन् and खन् before an affix beginning with य and marked with an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus जायते or जन्यते (with यक्) जीजायते or जज्जन्यते (with यङ्)। So also सायते or सन्यते, सासायते, or संसन्यते, खायते, चाखायते or चङ्खन्यते ॥ Before the vikaraṇa श्वन् of the Fourth class, which is डित् according to I. 2. 4; the आ is *always* substituted for जन् by VII. 3. 79. No option is allowed there.

तनोतेर्यक्ति ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनोते:, यकि, (विभाषा आत्) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ तनोतेर्यक्ति परतो विभाषा आकार आदशो भवति ।

44. The long आ may be optionally substituted for the final of तन् before the Passive characteristic यक् ॥

Thus नायते or तन्यते; but no option is allowed in तन्नन्यते with यङ् ॥

सनः किञ्चि लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सनः, किञ्चि, लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ सनोतेर्यङ्गस्य किञ्चि प्रत्यये परत आकार आदशो भवति लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ।

45. The long आ is optionally substituted for the final of सन् before the affix किंच; and there is also elision optionally of the Nasal.

Thus we have three forms सत्ति॑ः, सन्ति॑ः and सति॑ः ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' has been employed in the sūtra for the sake of clearness only; for the विभाषा of VI. 4. 43 could have been read into it by annvṛitti. Lest anyone should doubt, that the annvṛitti of विभाषा had ceased with the last aphorism, this word अन्यतरस्याम् is employed here.

आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातु के ।

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकइत्यधिकारो न ल्यपीति प्रागेतस्माद्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्याम आर्द्धधातुकं इत्येवं तद्वै-
दितव्यम् ।

46. From this upto VI. 4. 68 inclusive, is always to be supplied "before an affix called ārdhadhātuka (III. 4. 114 &c.)".

This is an adhikāra sūtra and extends upto VI. 4. 69 (exclusive). In all the sūtras upto VI. 4. 68 should be supplied the phrase "before an affix called ārdhadhātuka". Thus VI. 4. 48 teaches "the अ standing at the end of a verbal stem is elided". To complete the sense we should add: "before an ārdhadhātuka affix". Thus the final अ of the verbal stem चिकीर्षि is elided before the ārdhadhātuka affix हृ, as चिकीर्षित्, जिहार्षित्, but the final अ is not elided before a sārvadhātuka affix, as the अ of भवि in भवति, भवतः ॥ The *luk*-elision of शप् after roots of भवति class, implies that there is never *lopa* of शप् ॥

The following purposes are served by this sūtra, i. e. an ārdhadhātuka affix causes the following special changes (1) अतोलोपः—The elision of अ of a stem, as shown above, in चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितुम्, (2) थलोपश्च, The elision of य by VI. 4. 49, 50: as वेभिरिता, वेभिरितुम्, वेभिरित्यश्च from वेभिर्य the Intensive stem. Before Sārvadhātuka, we have वेभिर्यते, वेभिर्यते ॥ (3) णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम्, The elision of णि by VI. 4. 51, as कारणा हारणा पाच्यते (पाच्यि + यहु + ते = पाच् + य + ते), याच्यते ॥ In Sārvadhātuka, पाच्यति, याच्यति, कारयति, हारयति ॥ (4) आलोपः, the elision of आ, VI. 4. 64— as पष्टुः, पष्टुः, वृत्तुः वृत्तुः; In Sārvadhātuka, यान्ति, यान्ति (5) ईत्यम्—The substitution of long ई for शा in some roots, VI. 4. 65 as धीयते, शीयते ; in Sārvadhātuka अशानाम्, अभाताम् (6) एत्यम्—The substitution of ए for आ, VI. 4. 68; as स्नेयात्, ग्लेयात्; in Sārvadhātuka, स्नायात्, ग्लायात् ॥ This is confined to the Precative (āśrīlin). (7) चिण्वदभावश्च सीयुटि, the treatment of the Precative like Aorist Passive in चिण्, by VI. 4. 62. as कारिषीष्ट, हारिषीष्ट ॥ In Sārvadhātuka, क्रियेत, द्वियेत ॥

Kāsikā—अतो लोपो यलोपश्च णिलोपश्च प्रयोजनम् ।

आलोप ईत्यमेत्य च चिण्वदभावश्च सीयुटि ॥

भ्रस्जो रोपथ्योरमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि । भ्रस्जः, र॒उपध्योः, रम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रस्जो रेफस्योपभावाश्च रमन्यतरस्यां भवति ।

47. In the room of the र् and the penultimate letter स् of the root भ्रस्ज, there is optionally the substitute रम्, when an अर्धाद्धतुका affix follows.

The र् and स् cease to exist and र् takes their place. The substitute having an indicatory म् comes after the final vowel (I. i. 49). Thus भ्रस्ज + त् = भर्ज + त् = भर्त् the ज being changed to ष by VIII. 2. 36, and त् to ट् by VIII. 4. 41. The other form will be भ्रष्टा; so also भ्रष्टम् and भर्त्म्, भ्रष्टव्यम् and भर्त्व्यम्, भ्रज्जनम् or भर्ज्जनम् ॥ But भृष्टः and भृष्टव्यान् by VI. i. 16, in spite of this rule. The word उपदेश (VI. 4. 37), is understood here also. The rule therefore applies to the simple root bhrasj as originally taught in the Dhatupāṭha, and not to any Derivative root from it. As the Intensive (यड) is बरीभृष्टयते ॥

अतो लोपः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, लोपः, (आस्त्रधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्तस्थार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

वाच्चिकम् ॥ वृच्छीर्ण्यामतो लोपः पूर्वविप्रतिष्ठेन ॥

48. The अ standing at the end of a stem is elided before an अर्धाद्धतुका affix.

Thus चिकीर्षिता, चिकीर्षितम्, and चिकीर्षितव्यम्, from the Desiderative stem चिकीर्ष ॥ So also धिनुतः and कृणुतः from the roots धिन् and कृण् thus, धिन्+उ (III. i. 80)=धिन्+अ+उ (III. i. 80)=धिन्+उ (अ being elided before the अर्धाद्धतुका उ)=धिनु, the 3rd Personal dual of it is धिनुतः ॥ The addition of अ by III. i. 80 and its subsequent elision by the present sūtra, may appear a redundancy, but the elided अ being sthānivat, prevents guṇa of धि ॥ So also कृणुतः ॥ See sūtra III. i. 80. Why do we say "the अ is elided"? Observe चेता, स्नोता here इ and उ have not been elided. Why do we say "अतः with a त्"? The long आ will not be elided: as आता, वाता ॥ Why do we say 'before an अर्धाद्धतुका'? Before a Sārvadhātuka there will be no elision of अ nor before a Taddhita : as वृक्षस्वम् and वृक्षता ॥

— *Vart*—The elision of such अ takes place even to the supersession of the subsequent rules relating to Vṛiddhi and lengthening. As चिकीर्षिकः, जिह्वीर्षकः, चिकीर्ष्य ते and जिह्वीर्ष्यते ॥

यस्य हलः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सस्य, हलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तैरस्य यशब्दस्थार्द्धधातुके लोपो भवति ।

49. When a consonant precedes the final य in a verbal stem, 'this' य is elided also before an अर्धाद्धतुका affix.

Thus वेभिस्ता, वेभिन्तुम्, वेभिन्तव्यम् from the Intensive stem वेभिय् ॥ In the sūtra यस्य is given, which is the Genitive singular of य namely of the letters य अ ॥ By the rule of अलोऽन्तस्य (I. i. 52), the अ of य ought to be elided

and not य् ; but that rule is evidently inapplicable here, since the elision of अ would have taken place by the preceding rule : the present rule therefore teaches the elision of य् (ya). Or the word इङ् may be considered as in the ablative case, and then by I. i. 54, the first letter would be elided namely य् ॥ Why have we taken [the two letters (संयोजन) conjointly viz.] य् and not य् ? Observe इष्टियता, समिधता, शुचियता from the simple roots इष्ट्, सम्य्, and शुच् ॥ Here य् not being followed by अ, is not elided (see Bhāvadi 541—546). Why do we say ‘when preceded by a consonant?’ Observe लोक्यिता, पोद्यिता ॥

**क्यस्य विभाषा ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यस्य, विभाषा, (आर्ज्ञधातुके) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्यस्य हल उत्तरस्य विभाषा लोपो भवति आर्ज्ञधातुके ।**

50. The elision of य् of the Denominative stem (**क्य**) is optional, when preceded by a consonant and followed by an ārdhadhātuka affix.

The क्य denotes the affixes क्यथ् and क्यश् ॥ Thus समिधिता or समिधिसा, इष्टियता or इष्टिता meaning समिधमास्मन् इच्छति or समिध इवाच्यति &c.

**ऐरनिटि ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐः, अनिटि, (आर्ज्ञधातुके) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अनिडावार्ज्ञधातुके ऐलोपो भवति ।**

51. The ई of the verbal stem formed with the affix णि, is elided before an ārdhadhātuka affix which does not take the augment इट् ॥

This debars इयड्, the semi-vowel अ, the guṇa, Vṛiddhi and the long substitutions. Thus अततक्षत्, अरक्षत्, भासिष्यत्, भासिष्यत्, कारणा, हारणा, कारकः, हारकः, कार्यते, हार्यते and ज्ञाप्सति (see VII. 4. 1 for the shortening of the stem of the Aorists in these). Why do we say ‘not having the augment इट्?’ Observe कारयिता and हारयिता ॥

निष्ठायां सेटि ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम्, सेटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठायां सेटि परतो ऐलोपो भवति ।

52. The affix णि is elided before the affixes क्त् and क्तवत् when these take the augment इट् ॥

Thus कारितम्, हारितम्, गणितम्, लक्षितम् ॥ Why do we say “before an ardhadhātuka affix having the augment इट्”? Observe संज्ञपितः व्यज्ञः ॥ This is the part participle of the causative, the ई being the sign of the causative. By VII. 2. 15 read with VII. 2. 49, ज्ञ् is a root which takes no इट् augment in the Nishṭhā. It may be objected that VII. 2. 15 preventing इट् augment applies to verbs of one syllable (VII. 2. 10), and the causative ज्ञपि being of two syllables will always have इट् in the Nishṭhā, and so it is useless to use the word सेटि in the sūtra. The word सेटि in the sūtra fixes the *time* when the elision of णि should take place. Namely, *first* there should be added the

augment इट् and *then*, there should take place the elision of णि ॥ Otherwise we shall have this difficulty कारि+त्; here let us elide the णि *first*: and we get कार्+त्, now we cannot add इट् to त्, for कार् being a verb of one syllable will not take इट् by VII. 2. 10. Therefore, the reverse process must be adopted. We must elide इट् *first*. For ज्ञपितः see also VII. 2. 27.

जनिता मन्त्रे ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनिता, मन्त्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानितेति मन्त्रविषये इडादौ णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

53. In a Mantra, the word जनिता is formed irregularly, by the elision of णि before the affix त् with the augment इट् ॥

Thus वो नः पिता जनिता ॥ Otherwise जनयिता in secular literature. It is an exception to VI. 4. 51.

शमिता यज्ञे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमिता, यज्ञे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि शमितेति इडादौ णिलोपो निपात्यते ।

54. शमिता is formed irregularly, by the elision of णि before an इट् augmented affix, when meaning a sacrificial act.

Thus शृतं हविः शमितः ॥ It is formed by सृष्ट् and is in the Vocative case. Why do we say 'when referring to a sacrificial act'? See शृतं हविः शमयितः ॥ See Satpatha Br. III. 8. 3, 4 and 5.

अयामन्ताल्वायेतन्विष्णुपु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अय, आम-अन्त-आलु-आय्य-इत्तु-इष्णुषु, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम् अन्त् आलु आय्य इत्तु इष्णु इत्येतेषु परतो णेरयादेशो भवति ।

55. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the affixes आम्, अन्त्, आलु, आय्य, इत्तु, and इष्णु ॥

Thus कारयां चकार, हारयां चकार, गण्डयन्तः, मण्डयन्तः (formed by the Unādi affix सृष्ट्; इ = अन्त्, added to the roots मंडः and मण्ड) आलु । सूहयालुः । आय्य, स्पृहयाय्यः, गृहयाय्यः ॥ इत्तुः—स्तनायत्तुः ॥ इष्णुः—पोषयिष्णुः ॥ Thus sūtra could have been well dispensed with; for the इ of णि would take guṇa ए which will be changed to अश् by the rules of Sandhi, before these affixes. This substitution of अश् for इ is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra however, because there इ could not be changed to अय् by any sandhi-rules.

ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्यपि, लघु पूर्वात् (ऐः अय ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि परतो लंघुपूर्वातुन्तर्स्य णेरयादेशो भवति ।

56. अय् is substituted for the इ of णि, before the Absolutive affix ल्यपि, when the vowel preceding the इ is light.

Thus प्रश्नमर्य गतः, संस्मर्य गतः, प्रबेभिरस्य, प्रगणस्य ॥ But प्रपात्य गतः the vowel preceding the इ being long. Here VI. 4. 51 applies. The shortening, the

elision of अ and the elision of अ should not be considered as asiddha, as their place of operation is not the same. Thus शास्त्र + फिष्ट = शासि ; this शा is shortened by VI. 4. 92, and we have शसि ॥ This shortening is not to be considered as asiddha, for if asiddha, there being no laghu pūrva, the present rule would not apply. Similarly वेभिष्य is the Intensive root, its अ is elided by VI. 4. 49, this elision is not considered as asiddha, if it were asiddha, the इ of फि would not be laghu. Similarly the elision of अ in गण which is a root which ends in अ, (see Dhātupātha Churadi 309), is not considered as asiddha for similar reasons.

विभाषा, ४४४ः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आपः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आप उच्चरस्य जेर्व्यपि परतो विभाषा इयारेहो भवति ॥

57. अय् is optionally substituted for the इ of फि before the affix ल्पय्, after the verb आप् ॥

Thus प्राप्यत्य, or प्राप्य गतः ॥ This however does not apply to the आप् substitute for इह्, as अध्याप्य गतः (VI. 1. 48, VII. 3. 36). The maxim of Pratipadokta applies here.

युप्लुवोर्दीर्घश्छन्दसि ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यु-प्लुवोः, दीर्घः, छन्दसि, (ल्पयि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ यु प्लुव्यतयेर्व्यपि परतश्छन्दसि विषये दीर्घो भवति ॥

58. In यु and प्लु, long is substituted for उ, before ल्पय् in the Veda.

Thus शन्त्यनुपूर्वं वियुय ; यत्रा यो शक्षिणा परिष्कृय ॥ Why do we say in the Chhandas? Observe संयुत्य, आप्लुत्य in the secular literature.

क्षियः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षियः, (दीर्घः ल्पयि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षियम् दीर्घो भवति ल्पयि परतः ॥

59. A long is substituted for the इ of क्षि before ल्पय् ॥

As प्रक्षीय, उपक्षीय ॥

निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठायाम् अ-ण्यदर्थे, (दीर्घः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यतः कृत्यस्यार्थो भावकर्मणी ताम्यामन्यत्र या निष्ठा तस्यां क्षिदो दीर्घो भवति ।

60. A long is substituted for the इ of क्षि before the Participle in क्त, when it has not the sense of the future Passive Participle in ण्यत् ॥

The force of ण्यत् is to denote condition (Impersonal action) and object (passive). When the Past Participle has not the force of ण्यत्, the vowel of क्षि is lengthened. Thus आक्षीणः, प्रक्षीणः, परिक्षीणः all used in the active sense. The क्त is added to the Intransitive क्षि to denote the agent (III. 4. 72). Thus प्रक्षीणसिद्धं देवहस्तस्य 'this is the spot where Devadatta perished'. Here क्त is used with a Locative force (III. 4. 76). Why do we say 'not having the force of

अथ्? Observe अक्षितमसिमामेषेषाः ॥ Here त is added with the force of condition, and akshitam means 'imperishable'. The vowel not being lengthened the त is not changed to न (VIII. 2. 46).

वा आक्रोशदैन्ययोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आक्रोश-दैन्ययोः (क्षियः दीर्घः विभाषा) द्रुतिः ॥ आक्रोश गम्यामाने दैन्यं च सियो निष्ठायामप्यदर्थे वा हीयो भवति ॥

61. The long is optionally substituted, for the **क** of **क्षि**, before the Past Participle **क्त**, not having the sense of the Future Passive Participle **प्यत्**, when the word means 'imprécation' or 'a miserable plight'.

Thus क्षितादुरधि or क्षीणादुरधि, क्षितकः or क्षीणकः, क्षितोर्यं सपस्ती, क्षीणोऽयं सपस्ती ॥ When not having the sense of cursing or miserable condition, we have one form only, as क्षीणशन्तः ॥

स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेशः उज्ज्ञनप्रहृशां वा चिग्वदिट् च ॥६२॥
पदानि ॥ स्य-सिच्च-सीयुट्-तासि, भाव-कर्मणोः, उपदेशे, उच्च-इन्-प्रहृ-दशाम्, वा,
चिग्वत्, इट्, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्य सिद्धं क्षीयुद तासि इत्येतेषु भावकर्मविषयेषु परत उपवेशे । अन्तानामङ्गानां हन् यह इत्येतेषां च चिप्पवस्त्रार्थं भवति वा । यसा चिप्पवत् तरश्च इडागमो भवति ।

62. Before the affixes **स्य** (First Future and Conditional), **सिच्** (S-Aorist), **सीयुत्** (Benedictive) and **तासि** (the Prithastic Future), when there are used in the Impersonal (**भाव**) and Passive (**कर्म**) Voices, (1) the verbal stems ending in a vowel in the Grammatical system of instruction (**उपदेश**), as well as the verbs (2) **हन्** (3) **प्रह्** and (4) **हश्** are treated optionally in the same way as in the third person of the Passive Aorist in **चिण्**, and when so treated, they have the augment **इ॑** ||

The augment ए॒ट् is, of course, added to the affixes स्य, सिष्, सीयु॒ट् and तासि and not to the stem. What are the special objects served by this atidēsa aphorism? They are given in the following verse :—

Kārikā चिप्पद् शुद्धिरुक्तं वा हन्तेष्व पर्यं
सीर्यश्वोन्नो यो मितां वा चिर्णाति ।
इत् चासिद्वस्तेन मे लुप्यते गिर-
भित्यधायं वल्लनिमित्तोऽविघाती ॥

First :—The Vṛiddhi takes place as in विष्णु (VII. 2. 116, VII. 3. 34), secondly, there is the addition of तुक्त augment (VII. 3. 33), thirdly ए is substituted for the ए of हन् (VII. 3. 54), fourthly, the roots having indicatory ए

(Bhuḍi 809 to 873) optionally lengthen their vowel (VI. 4. 93), and lastly the addition of the augment इट being considered as asiddha or not to have taken effect by VI. 4. 22, the rule VI. 4. 51 applies and the causative affix णि is elided : and this इट is added irrespective of the conditions and limitations of VII. 2. 35 &c.

(1) Roots ending in a vowel in the Dhātūpāṭha with the affix स्य as, चिः—चायिष्यते, अचायिष्यते or अचयिष्यते || So also with शा, as, शायिष्यते or शास्यते, अशायिष्यते or अशास्यते ||

In शमि there are three forms, the two शामिष्यते or शामिष्यते, अशामिष्यते and अशामिष्यते being given by the elision of the causative ending by VI. 4. 51, in spite of the इट augment which is considered as asiddha : and शम् being a root of मित् class, the अ is lengthened optionally by VI. 4. 93. The forms शामिष्यते and अशामिष्यते are given when not treated as चिण्, the causative is retained, the penultimate being shortened by VI. 4. 92. With the affix सिच्—अचायिषाताम् or अचेषाताम्, अशायिषाताम्, or अशेषाताम् and अशामिषाताम् or अशमिषाताम् || With the affix सीतुद्—चायिषीट् or चेषीट्, शायिषीट् or शेषीट् and शामिषीट् or शमिषीट् || With the affix तासि—चायिता or चेता, शायिता or शता, शामिता or शमिता || The चिण् aorist model of these roots is अचायि, अशायि (VII. 3. 33), and अशामि (VII. 3. 34) or अशामि (VI. 4. 93).

(2) हन् :—Fut. घानिष्यते or हनिष्यते; Con. अघानिष्यते or अहनिष्यते, Aor. अघानिषाताम् or अवधिषाताम् and अहसाताम् (II. 4. 44); Ben. घानिषीट् or वधिषीट् ; Per. Fut. घानिता or हन्ता || The चिण् model is अघानि ||

(3) महः—Fut. माहिष्यते or महीष्यते Con. अमाहिष्यते or अग्रहिष्यते; Aor. अमाहिषाताम् or अमर्हिषाताम् (अमर्हिषाताम्) ? ; Ben. माहिषीट् or (माहीषीट्) ? महीषीट् ; Per. Fut. माहिता or महिता || The lengthening of ही takes place by VII. 2. 37. The चिण् model is अमाहि ||

(4) द्रष्टः—Fut. दर्शिष्यते or द्रश्यते, Con. अदर्शिष्यते or अद्रश्यते ; Aor. अदर्शिषाताम् or अहभाताम् ; Ben. दर्शिषीट् or द्रशीट् ; Per. Fut. दर्शिता or द्रष्टा (दर्षा) ? || The चिण् model is अदर्शि ||

Why do we say before स्य &c? Observe चेष्यते, शास्यते || Why in the Impersonal and Passive? Observe चेष्यते and शास्यते || Why in Upadeśa? The rule applies to कारिष्यते also, though कार् (after ,guṇa change) ends in a consonant, but in its original enunciation it ends with a vowel. The atideśa rule being enunciated with regard to stems (aṅga), prevents the substitutions of हन् and इट् and इण् || Thus हनिष्यते, घानिष्यते, एष्यते or आयिष्यते, अयेष्यते or अध्यायिष्यते || The substitutes वथ or गा (II. 4. 42, 43, 45, 50) do not come according to the Kāśikā, when these roots are treated as चिण् ||

दीडो युडचि कूडिति ॥ ६३ ॥ पंदानि ॥ दीडः, युट्, अचि, कूडिति ॥ शृन्ति ॥ शीड़युडागमो भवति अजाई कूडिति प्रत्यं परतः ॥

63. युद् is the augment after दीड़्, of an अर्धाधातुका affix beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus उपसिंशेये, उपसिंशीयते and उपसिंशीयते ॥ The Personal ending is किन् by I. 2. 5. शैङ्गः being in the Ablative case, the augment is applied to the affix. This augment, however, is not to be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of semi-vowel substitution under VI. 4. 82. If that substitution were allowed, the augment would become useless. Why before an affix having क् or ङ्? Observe उपसाम् ॥

आतो लोप इटि च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, लोपः, इटि, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इडाशावार्द्धधातुके क्रिंति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य लोपो भवति ॥

64. The final आ cf a root is elided before an अर्धाधातुका affix with the augment इट् as well as when it begins with a vowel and has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus पविथ and तस्थिथ ॥ Here the affix has the इट् augment. पपतुः, पपुः तस्थितुः, तस्थुः ॥ Here the affixes are किन् by I. 2. 5 गोः, कन्तलः with the affix क् (III. 2. 3). So also प्रशा (fem), प्रधा (fem) by अङ् III. 3. 106. Before सार्वाधातुका affixes, we have यान्ति, वान्ति, व्ययरे and व्ययले ॥ The two latter are the Imperfect 1st Pers. Sing. Atm. of गा and ला with the affix ई (इट्). When it does not begin with a vowel, we have ग्लायते, शसीय ॥

ईद्यति ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईत्, यति, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकार आदेशो भवति आकारान्तस्याङ्गस्य यति परतः ॥

65. The final आ of a stem is changed into ई before the Kṛit-affix यत् ॥

Thus हेयम्, धेयम्, हेयम्, and स्तेयम् ॥ The Guṇa takes place according to VII. 3. 84.

घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु, मा, स्था, गा, पा, जहाति साम्, हलि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानां मां स्था गा पा जहाति सा इत्येतेषां हलातौ क्रिंति प्रत्यये परत ईकारादेशो भवति ॥

66. For the final of the roots of the form of दा and धा (घु), as well as for that of the roots मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा (जहाति) and सा (सो), there is substituted ई before an अर्धाधातुका affix beginning with a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or ङ् ॥

Thus शीयते, धीयते with यक्, इरीयते, देमीयते with यङ् ॥ So also शीयते मेमीयते त्पीयते, तेष्टीयते, गीयते, जेगीयते, अध्यगीष्ट, अध्यगीषाताम्, अध्यगीषत, पीयते, पेपीयते, हीयते, जेहीयते, अवरीयते, अवरेसीयते ॥

The पा 'to protect' of Adadi (47) is not meant here. be come the

vikarana श् is elided in roots of that class. Its form will be पायते. It is Bhvādi वा 'to drink' that is taken here. So also श-जिह्वते is not to be taken here. Its form is हायते ॥

Why do we say 'before a consonant'? Observe इत्तुः, इदुः ॥ Here had ह् not been used in the sūtra, the आ of श् would be replaced by ई by the present sūtra, even before a vowel-affix अतुः ० उम्; for the lopa of आ taught in VI. 4. 64 is prevented by this subsequent sūtra teaching ई substitution. In fact, the employment of the word ह् in the aphorism is a jñāpaka that the rule of vpratishedha (I.4.2) applies in this section of asiddha (VI. 4. 22), and the lopa of आ is superseded by the present rule substituting ई instead. So also शता and धाता before non-कित् and non-किन् affixes.

पर्णिङ्गि ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, लिङ्गि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुभास्थागापाजहातिसमझानां लिङ्गि परत एकारादेशो भवति ॥

67. ए is substituted for the आ of the above roots in the Benedictive mood Active.

Thus देयात्, भेयात्, धेयात्, स्थेयात्, गेयात्, पेयात् and अवसेयात् ॥ Before non-कित् and non-किन् we have शासीष्ट and धासीष्ट ॥ By the word लिङ्गि is here meant the भासीलिङ्ग or the Precative mood; the Personal endings of which mood are अर्धाधातुका by III. 4. 116. More-over by III. 4. 104 the Parasmaipada affixes only of the Benedictive are कित्, so the present rule does not apply to the Atmanepada affixes of the Precative.

वा अन्यस्य संयोगादेः ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्य-संयोग, आदेः, (लिङ्गि) (आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धूवादिभ्यो अन्यस्य संयोगादेशराकारान्तस्य वा एकारादेशो भवति लिङ्गि परतः ॥

68. For the final आ of any other root than those mentioned in VI. 4. 66, ए may optionally be substituted, in the Benedictive active, when the root begins with a conjunct consonant.

The स्था was the only root of VI. 4. 66, which could have been affected by this rule. It has been, however, specially exempted by the word अन्यस्य ॥ Thus ग्लेयात् or ग्लायात्, म्लेयात् or म्लायात्, but only स्थेयात् (VI. 4. 66), and यायात् (not commencing with a double consonant). The phrase किङ्गति is understood here and therefore the rule applies to Parasmaepada affixes (III. 4. 104). Thus ग्लासीष्ट in Atmanepadā. The root considered as an aṅga, should consist of a double consonant, therefore in निर्वायात् (from निर् + वा), व् is not to be considered as a root having a double consonant, for र is no part of the aṅga, but of the preposition.

न ल्यपि ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ल्यपि, शुभास्थागापाजहातिसाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ल्यपि प्रत्यये परतो शुमास्थागापां जहातिसाँ यदुक्त तत्र ॥

69. The ई substitution for आ under rule VI. 4. 66, does not apply when the absolute affix ल्यप् follows शु मा, स्था, गा, पा, हा and सा ॥

Thus प्रशाय, प्रधाय, प्रमाय, प्रस्थाय, प्रगाय, प्रपाय, प्रहाय and अवसाय ॥ The affix ल्यप् as the substitute of क्वता, is a किन् affix by I. 1. 56.

मयतैरिदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ मयतेः, इतैः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ल्यपि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मयतैरिकारां दशां वा भवति ॥

70. ई may optionally be substituted for the आ of मा, (मयति) before ल्यप् ॥

Thus अपमित्य or अपमाय ॥

लुड्लुड्लुड्लुद्वदुदाचः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुड्, स्ट्र॒, लुड् भु, अट्, उदाचः (अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुड् लुड् लुड् इत्यतेषु परतोऽस्याडागमो भवति, उदाचश्च स भवति ॥

71. अट् acutely accented is the augment of the verbal stem in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus अकार्षीत्, अहर्षीत्, अकरोत्, अहरोत् and अकरप्यत्, अहरिप्यत् ॥

आडजादीनाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, अच्-आदीनाम्, (उदाचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडागमो भवतजार्षीनां लुड्लुड्लुद्वु परत उदाचश्च स भवति ॥

72. आट् acutely accented is the augment of a verbal stem beginning with a vowel, in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus एक्षिष्ट, एक्षत, एक्षिष्यत; औष्टजीत्, औष्टज्ञू, औष्टिजप्यत् ॥ एहिष्ट, एहित् and एहिष्य औष्टभीत्, वैगम्भत्, and औष्टिभ्यत् ॥ The Vriddhi takes place by VI. 1. 90.

The Passive Imperfect (लङ्) of यज्, वप् and वह are एज्यत, औन्यत and औह्यत formed by आट् and not अट् ॥ First, the affixes of the Imperfect are added and then the Passive characteristic यङ् is added to these roots, which causes the vocalisation of the semi-vowels, and we have इज्यत, उन्यत, and उह्यत stems (VI. 1. 15). The stems having now assumed a form in which they begin with a vowel, take आट् ॥ The addition of tense-affixes being an antaranga operation precedes the addition of augment. After the affixes have been added, the yikaraṇa यक्, being nitya, is added and precedes in order the augment, the latter being so far anitya; after यक् addition the roots assume a form in which we can add आट् ॥ Why आट् is considered anitya depends on the following 'maxim':—शब्दान्तरस्य प्राप्नुवन् विधिरानस्यो भवति "when the word-form in reference to which a rule teaches something; after the taking effect of another rule that applies simultaneously would be different from what it was before that other rule had taken effect, then the former rule is not nitya."

छन्दस्यपि हृश्यते ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, अपि, हृश्यते, आट ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये आटागमो हृश्यते । यत्र हि विलितस्तोन्यचरपि हृश्यते ।

73. The आट augment is found in the Veda also.

It is found there before the roots beginning with a vowel as well as before consonant roots. Thus आवः, आनक्, and आयुनक् ॥ आवः is the Aorist of वृश्, the affix being elided by II. 4. 80. आनक् from नश् (II. 4. 80), and आयुनक् is the Imperfect of युश् ॥

न माड्योगे ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, माड्, योगे (लुङ् लुङ् लुङ्क्षु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ माड्योगे लुङ्क्षु बहुक्तं तत्र भवति ॥

74. In connection with the prohibitive particle मा, the augment अट् or आट् is not added in the Aorist, Imperfect and the Conditional.

Thus मा भवान् कार्षीत्, मा भवान् हार्षीत्, मा स्म करोत्, मा स्म हरत्, मा भवानीहिष्टमा, भवानीसिष्ट, मा स्म भवानीहत्, मा स्म भवानीक्षत् ॥

बहुलं छन्दस्यमाड्योगे इपि ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, अ माड्.योगे,
अपि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये माड्योगे इपि बहुलमडादौ भवतः अमाड्योगेपि न भवतः ॥

75. There is diversity in the Veda : the augment अट् or आट् is added even with मा, and sometimes not added even when there is no मा ॥

Thus in जनिष्ठा उपः (Rig X. 73. 1), काममूर्णीत् (Rig I. 53. 3) and काममर्शीत्; the augment is not added though there is no मा ॥ In मा वः क्षेत्रे परब्रजान्यवाप्तुः, मा अभित्याः, मा आवः, the augment is not elided, though the particle मा is added.

इत्यो रे ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्योः, रे, (बहुलंछन्दसि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इत्र इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्यथमादेशां भवति ॥

76. रे is diversely substituted for इत्र in the Veda.

Thus कं स्विद्धर्मं प्रथमं इत्थे आपः (Rig X. 82. 5) या स्य पतिदध्ये ॥ In इत्थे, the आ of आपः is elided before the affix इत्र by VI. 4. 64, the रे substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) for the purposes of the elision of आ ॥ Sometimes the substitution does not take place, as परमाया धियोगिनर्माणि अक्रिरे ॥ Here इत्र augment is first added to रे after the सैद् roots and the affix thus becomes इत्र, then रे is substituted again for this इत्र by this sūtra, thus the affix is brought back to its original condition. To show this repetition—रे—इत्र—रे the sūtra has exhibited the word इत्योः in the dual number.

अच्चि इनुधातुभूधां य्वोरियुवडौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्चि, इनु, धातु, भूधाम्,
य्वोः, इयङ्, उवडौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुप्रत्ययान्तस्याङ्गस्य धानोरिवर्णोवर्णान्तस्य भु इत्येतस्य इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशी भवतो इचि परतः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयङ् उवङ् प्रकरणेतन्वाचैनां छन्दसि अहुलसुपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

77. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of अु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

Thus आप्तुवन्ति, राधुवन्ति, शक्तुवन्ति, from roots of the 5th class. चिकित्थुः लुप्तुः, हुलुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुवः and भुवौ and भुवः ॥

Why do we say before an affix beginning with a vowel ? Observe आप्तुयात्, शक्तुशात्, राधुशात् ॥ Why "of अु &c." ? Observe लैयै, लैथा:, वैथै, वैथाः ॥ Why "of इ and उ" ? Observe चक्तुः, चक्तुः where the vowel is अ ॥

Vart :—The *Guṇa* (VII. 3. 84) and *Vṛiddhi* (VII. 2. 115) however take place to the supersession of इयङ् and उवङ् : as from च्य—चयनम् and चायकः, लू—लवनम् and लावकः, with ल्युट् and ष्वुल् ॥

Vart :—In the Chandas there is deversely the substitution of इयङ् and उवङ् in the case of तन् &c. Thus तन्वं पुषेम or तनुं पुषेम ॥ विपुत्रं पुषेम, स्वर्णो लोकः, मुवर्णो लोकः, ईयम्बकं यजामहे, चियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे ॥७८॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यासस्य, अ, सवर्णे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यासस्यवर्णोवर्णान्तस्यासवर्णे इचि परत इयङ् उवङ् इत्येतावदेशी भवतः ॥

78. इयङ् and उवङ् are substituted for the इ and उ of a reduplicate, before a non-homogenous vowel.

Thus इयेष, उवोष, इयत्ति, (VII. 4. 77) but इषतुः and ईषुः ऊषतुः and ऊषुः before homogenous vowels and इयाय and उवाय before a non-vowel.

स्त्रियाः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाः, (अचि इयङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीइत्येतस्याजातौ प्रत्यये परतः इयङावदेशी भवति ॥

79. इयङ् is substituted for the इ of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्री, स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः; but स्त्रीगाम् the ा being added by a subsequent rule, supersedes this rule. The making this a separate sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms.

वा अमशासोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अम, शासोः (इयङ् स्त्रियाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमि शसि परतः स्त्रिया वा उयडावदेशी भवति ॥

80. The substitution of इयङ् for the इ of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्री पश्य or स्त्रियं पश्य, स्त्रीः पश्य or स्त्रियः पश्य ॥

इणो यण् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इणः, यण्, (अङ्गस्य अचि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इणोङ्गस्य यणावदेशी भवति अचि परतः ॥

81. For the इ of the root इण् (एति) is substituted a semivowel (य), before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वान्त, अनु, आयन् ॥ This supersedes इथङ् substitution, and is itself superseded by VII. 2. 115, and VII. 3. 84 which ordain Vṛiddhi and Guṇa: on the maxim मध्ये इपवादाः पूर्वांन् विधीन् वापन्ते, नोन्तरात् ॥ “Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that precede, not those that follow them.” So we have अयन् and आयकः ॥

एरनेकाच्चो असंयोगपूर्वस्य ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पः, अनेकाच्चः, अ संयोगपूर्वस्य, (धातोः अचिं प्रत्यये) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरवयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादिवर्णान्तः भवति असावसंयोगपूर्वस्तदन्तस्थाङ्गस्यानेकाच्चोऽपि परतो व्यावैश्चो भवति ॥

82. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

The word धातोः is understood here, and the word संयोग is qualified by that: i. e. the इ or ई which is not preceded by conjunct consonant forming part of the root is called an asamyoga pūrva इ ॥ Thus नियतुः, निष्टुः, उन्नयौ, उन्न्यः, आमण्यौ, आमण्यः ॥ All the above examples are of the soot नी preceded by the gati prepositions नि and उत्, or a Kāraka-upapada आम् ॥ The rule will not apply however if the preceding word is neither a gati nor a Kāraka, but an adjective, as परमनी, its dual and plural will be परमन्यौ and परमन्यः by इथङ् ॥ Why do we say ‘of इ or ई’? Observe लुलुवतुः and लुलुवः from लुलु which ending in ऊ takes उद्धङ् substitution. This is also shown in the next sūtra. Why do we say the stem should be of more than one syllable? Observe नी; its dual and plural are नियौ and नियः by इथङ् ॥ Why do we say the इ or ई should not be preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe यवकीं द्वयवकीयौ pl. यवकीयः by इथङ् ॥ Why do we say “forming part of the root”? So that the rule may apply to उन्नी also. Here though ई is preceded by a conjunct न्तः, yet the latter is not part of the root, one न्तः being part of the upasarga उत् ॥ Thus we have उन्नयौ and उन्न्यः ॥ The phrase असंयोगपूर्व should in fact be taken as qualifying the letter ई, and not as qualifying the word अङ्ग ॥

ओः सुषि ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, सुषि, (यण्, धातोः, असंयोगपूर्वस्य, अनेकाच्चः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातवयवः संयोगः पूर्वो यस्मादुवर्णान्तः भवति तदन्तस्थाङ्गस्यानेकाच्चो अजाह्वा सुषि परतो व्यावैश्चो भवति ॥

83. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel य् is substituted for the final

अ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in अ not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of 'a stem end' in short अ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खल्पू 'a sweeper':—d. खल्पौ, pl. खल्पः; so also शतस्त्रौ and शतस्त्रः, and सकृलू : dual सकृल्लौ and सकृल्लः ॥ But लुलुवतु: and लुलुवः before tense-affixes, (non—सुषः); लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only), and कटपू—कटपूवौ, कटपूवः (because अ is preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root). The rule does not apply if the first member is not a Gati or a Kāraka word: as परमलूः—परमलुवौ and परमलुवः ॥

वर्षाभवश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षा भवः, च, अचि सुषियण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाभू इत्येतस्याजावै सुषिपि परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुनर्भवेत्विवक्ष्यम् ॥

84. च् is substituted for the अ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows:

As वर्षाभौ, वर्षाभः ॥ वर्षाभू 'what is born in the rains, a kind of herb.' This is an exception to the subsequent rule.

Vart:—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when द्व, कार and पुनर precede भू; as दृन्वौ, दृन्वः, पुनर्भौ, पुनर्भः, कारभौ (काराभौ), कारभः (काराभः) ॥

न भूसुधियोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, भू, सुधियोः, यण्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भू सुधी इत्येतयोर्यणादेशो न भवति ॥

85. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभू—प्रतिभूवौ, प्रतिभूवः; सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥ VI. 4. 77.

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, उभयथा, भूसुधियोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये भू सुधी इत्येतयोर्भयथा दृश्यते यण् ॥

86. In the Chhandas, in the case of a stem in भू and सुधी, are found sometimes the इयङ्, उवङ् and sometimes the semi-vowel substitution.

As विभवम्, विभुवम्, मुधः and सुधियः; वनेषु चिन्तं विभवं विशो, विशो विभुवम्, सुध्यो हव्यमन्ते, सुधियो हव्यमन्ते ॥

हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हुश्नु वोः, सार्वधातु के, अङ्गस्य, अनेकाचः, असंयोग, पूर्वस्य, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्याइस्य शुप्रत्ययान्तस्यानकाचो इस्योगपूर्वस्याजावै सार्वधातुके परतो यणादेशो भवति ॥

87. The semi-vowel च् is substituted for the अ of हु, and for that of त्रु (the characteristic of the fifth class roots),

before a sârvadhâtuka affix (III. 4. 113) beginning with a vowel, when the stem consists of more than one syllable and the ऊ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

Thus हु—जुहति, जुहतुः; अजुहन्, so also with सु—as सुन्वन्ति, सुन्वन्तु, असुन्वन् ॥ Why do we say “of हु and सु formed stems”? Observe आयुवति, योरुवति, from Intensive bases, by the elision of the यू affix. The यू is elided in the secular literature also, by the implication (jnâpaka) of this aphorism, for no counter-example can be formed of a root consisting of more than one syllable and ending in उ, not preceded by a conjunct consonant and followed by a Sârvadhâtuka affix, unless the Intensive roots with the elision of यू be taken. Nor can we get examples from the Chhandas, for the preceding rule applies only to ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Why do we say before a Sârvadhâtuka? Observe शुद्धतुः, शुद्धुः (VI. 4. 77). So also not in आपुवन्ति and रापुवन्ति as the उ is preceded by a conjunct consonant.

भुवो बुग्लुङ्गलिटोः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, बुक्, लुङ्ग, लिटोः, अचि, ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ भुवो बुगागमे भवति लुडि लिटि चाजारौ परतः ॥

88. भू gets the augment व् (बुक्) before the tense-affixes of the Aorist and the Perfect, when beginning with a vowel.

Thus अभूवन्, अभूवम्; बभूवः, बभूवतुः, बभूदुः ॥

ऊदुपथाया गोहः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊत्, उपथायाः, गोहः, अङ्गस्यं, अचि, प्रत्यये ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ गोहो इत्यस्य उपथाया ऊकारादशो भवति अजारौ प्रत्यये परतः ॥

89. For the penultimate ओ of the gñânted stem गोह् (from गुह्), there is substituted ऊ before an affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus नि गूहति, निगूहकः, साधुनिगूहिन्, निगूहम्, निगूहन्ति, गूहो वर्तते ॥ Why do we say ‘penultimate’? So that the substitution should not apply anywhere else. The form गोह् is taken in the sûtra to prohibit the application of the rule to cases where गुह् does not assume the form गोह् ॥ Therefore not here, निगूहतुः, निगूहः ॥ This change will not take place before the affixes beginning with a consonant; as निगाढा, निगाढम् ॥ Some say, the word is exhibited as गोह् in order to prohibit the अय् substitution of णि before ल्पय् ॥ As निगाहि + ल्पय् = निगूह (VI. 4. 56 not applied), the ऊ substitution being considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) would have brought in अय्, गूह् being considered as a word having a light vowel for its penultimate. According to Kâsikâ the ऊ substitution, however, is not asiddha, as their places of operation are different.

दोगो णौ ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ दोपः, णौ, उदुपथायाः ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ वंष उपथाया ऊकार आदशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

90. The ओ of दोष् is replaced by ऊ before the causative णि ॥

Thus दूषयति, दूषयतः, दूषयन्ति ॥ Similar reasons as in गोह्, may be given for the root दुष being exhibited as दोष in the sūtra. When not followed by णि, we have दोषो वर्तते ॥

वा चित्तविरागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, चित्त-विरागे, उदुपधायाः णौ, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ चित्ताविकारये दोष उपधाया वा ऊकारोदशो भवति णौ परतः ॥

91. The ऊ substitution for the ओ of दोष् is optional, when the sense is that of the disturbing of the mind.

As चित्त or प्रज्ञां दूषयते or दोषयति ॥ Otherwise साधनं दूषयति when mental agitation is not meant.

मितां हस्तः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिताम्, हस्तः, णौ, उपधायाः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मितो धातवो घटाद्यो मित इत्यवमाक्षो ये प्रतिपादितास्तपादुपधाया हस्तो भवति णौ परतः ॥

92. The roots having an indicatory अ, retain their penultimate short vowel before the causative णि ॥

The मित् roots are घटादि a subdivision of Bhwādi (800 to 873), and all other roots that end in अभ् as शम् and तम् of Divādi class. Thus घटयति, व्यथयति, जनयति, रजयति, शमयति, जपयति ॥ Some read the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra into this. This will then be a limited option only (vyavasthita-vibhāshā). The forms उक्तामयति and संक्रामयति are thus explained.

93. Optionally a long may be substituted for the penultimate of the causative of मित् roots, before the third person of the Passive Aorist in चिण् (इ), and before the Absolute affix णमुल् (अभ्) ॥

चिण्णमुलोहीर्वोऽन्यतरस्थाम् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, णमुलोः, दीर्घः, अन्य-
तरस्थाम्, णौ, मितः उपधायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण्परं णमुलं च णौ परते मितामङ्गानादुपधाया दीर्घौ भवति अन्यतरस्थाम् ॥

Thus अशमि or अशामि, भतामि or भताम with चिण्; and शमंशम्, and शामंशाम् ; तमंतमम् or तामंतामम् with णमुल् ॥ Why have we used the word दीर्घ in the sūtra? The rule does not teach merely the *optional shortening*. So that in the alternative of short, we have अशमि and in the other alternative we have अशामि, so that there is long. For had दीर्घ not been used, it would have taught optional short only, i. e. it would be a हस्तविकल्पविधि only, and there will be this difficulty :—when the causative of causative is taken, as in शमयन्तं प्रयुडन्ते, there would not be lengthening in the alternative. Because the lopa substitute of णि would be sthāniyat : therefore, the णि which would be followed by

विंश or जमूल्, would not have in it the मित् anga, because the first वि intervenes between the मित् anga and the चिंश् and जमूल् affix, and that वि which is preceded by a मित् anga is not followed by चिंश् and जमूल्, because the second वि (though elided) intervenes. Therefore, there would not be *optional* short here, but *compulsory* short, by the preceding sūtra and no lengthening. The rule, therefore, teaches the optional substitution of the *long* (सीर्व). For there arises no such anomaly in this view. For taking this rule to be a शीर्धविधि, the lopa-substitution of वि would *not* be sthānivat, by the express prohibition contained in I. 1. 58, and so we can get forms of double causatives. But if we take it a इत्यविकल्पविधि, then the lopa-adēśa of वि being sthānivat, would prevent getting the alternative long form. Therefore the word सीर्व is used in the sūtra to make this rule a शीर्धविधि, and prevent sthānivat-bhāva. Thus take the causative of शम्, which will be शमि by the last sūtra. Take its Intensive with यङ्, शमि + यङ् which causes doubling by VI. 1. 9 = शमि शमि + यङ् = शशमि + यङ् (VII. 4. 60) = शं शमि + यङ् (मुक्त् or nasal being added to the abhyāsa by VII. 4. 85) = शंशमि + यङ् = शंशम् + य् (VI. 4. 51) = शंशमय्. Add णिन् to this ie. make the causative of the Intensive. शंशम् + य् + ण् ॥ Then the य of य is elided by VI. 4. 48 = शं शम् + य् + ण्. Then ण् is elided by VI. 4. 49 = शंशम् + इ = शंशमि ॥ This शंशमि is the causative root of the Intensive of the causative शम् ॥ Now add चिंश् or जमूल् to this root; and we get two forms short and long अशंशमि or अशंशमि with चिंश् and शंशमय् or शंशमय् with जमूल् ॥ The long forms could not have been obtained had this not been a शीर्धविधि, for then the lopa-adēśa of णिन् being sthānivat would have prevented the application of सीर्व ॥ The roots शम् and तम् (both Divādi) ending in म् do not ever lengthen the root vowel before चिंश् and जमूल् by VII. 3. 34. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to the simple roots. The derivative causative roots of these, namely, शमि — शमयति, तमि — तमयति, optionally lengthen the penultimate before these affixes. Thus शमि + चिंश् = शम् + चिंश् (the य of वि being elided by VI. 4. 51) = शामि or शमि (with the augment अ = अशामि or अशमि) ॥ This rule applies when the Causative of the Causative root takes these affixes. In fact the mention of the word लीर्व implies as much, otherwise the sūtra could have been made without this word, for the word 'optionally' would have brought in both 'short' and 'long'. Thus in शमयत्ते प्रयुक्ते 'he causes another to make quiet,' we add वि (the Causative sign.), to the Causative root शमि, as शमि + वि = शम् + इ (VI. 4. 51) = शमि, the lopādēśa here is not sthānivat for the purposes of *lengthening* (वीर्धविधि) the य of शम् (I. 1. 58) ॥ From this शमि with चिंश् we get अशामि, and with जमूल् we get शंशम् ॥ But we cannot get the short forms, by taking the other alternative, as the lopādēśa will then be sthānivat. Hence the necessity of the word सीर्व in the sūtra. Thus the चिंश् and जमूल् forms of the Causative of the Causative (i. e. the double Causative) of शम् are अशामि* or अशामि ; शामंशम् or शामंशाम् and from the form शंशमयति, we have अशंशमि or अशंशामि, शंशमंशम् or शंशामंशो.

शामव् ॥ These latter are from the Causative stems of the Intensive root. The sign वृत्ति of the Intensive has been elided (VI. 4. 49) as shown above.

खचि हस्वः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ खचि, हस्यः, (उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ खचरे यो परतो इस्वो भवत्यङ्गस्योपधायाः ॥

94. The penultimate of the Causative stem is shortened before the affix खच् ॥

Thus द्विषत्ताः, परंपः, पुरंदः ॥ See III. 2. 29 and 41.

हलादो निष्ठायाम् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलादः, निष्ठायाम्, (हस्वः उपधायाः अङ्गस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलादो इङ्गस्योपधाया इस्वो भवति निष्ठार्या परतः ॥

95. The penultimate of the Causative of छद् (छादि) is shortened before the Participle affixes क्त and क्तवत् ॥

Thus प्रहूनः, प्रहूनवान्, but प्रहूदिष्टति before non-nishṭha. The rule applies also when निकृत् follows as प्रहून्तिः ॥ This is done by splitting up the aphorism into two (1) हूनः; (2) निष्ठायाम् ॥

छादेऽघे इङ्गयुपसर्गस्य ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छादेः, घे, अ इङ्गयुपसर्गस्य, (उपधायाः हस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छादेऽङ्गस्यादृग्युपसर्गस्य घपत्यये परते उपधाया इस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अद्विप्रभृत्युपसर्गस्येति वनव्यम् ॥

96. The penultimate of the Churādi छद् is shortened before the affix घ (III. 3. 118), when not preceded by two prepositions (or more).

As उरच्छः, प्रच्छः, स्त्वच्छः ॥ But समुपच्छासः with two prepositions. The same when preceded by more than two prepositions, as समुपातिच्छासः ॥ The elision of णि of छादि &c., by VI. 4. 51, should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22) or sthānivat (I. 1. 57), otherwise there would be no penultimate to be shortened.

— • — *Vārti*:—The prohibition with regard to द्वि should be extended to numbers more than two.

इस्मन्त्रक्तिषु च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इस्, मन्, अन्, क्तिषु, च, छादेः (उपधायाः हस्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इस्, मन्, अन्, क्तिषु परतश्छात्वेषप्रधायाः इस्वो भवति ।

97. The penultimate of छादि is shortened before the affixes इस्, मन्, अन् and क्ति ॥

Thus छादिस्, छादिमन् (neuter), छादअन्, धामच्छत् and उपच्छत् ॥ The first three are Uṇādi affixes.

गमहनजनखनवरमां लोपः कृडित्यनडि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम, हन, जन, खन, असाम्, लोपः, कृडिति अनडि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम हन जन खन घस् इत्यतेषामङ्गानामुपधाया भोपो भवत्यजादै प्रत्यये कृडित्यनडि परतः ॥

98. The root-vowel of गम्, हन्, जन्, खन्, and घस् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory क् or छ्; but not before the Aorist affix अङ् ॥

Thus अगमतुः, अग्नुः जग्नतुः, जग्नुः, जन्त, जन्ताति, जन्तोर्, चखनतुः, चख्नुः, जश्नुः, जश्नते, अक्षन्ते ॥

Why 'having indicatory क् or छ्'? See गमनम्, हननम् ॥ Why 'not अङ्'? See अगमन्, अघनन् ॥ Why 'beginning with a vowel'? See गम्यते and हन्यते ॥

तनिपत्योऽच्छन्दसि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनि, पयोः, छः इति, (क्षिणिति उपवायाः लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनि पति इत्येतत्वोऽच्छन्दसि विश्वेऽउपवाया लोपो भवति अजार्दी क्षिणिति, प्रथये परतः ॥

99. In the Chhandas, the root-vowel of तन् and प् is elided before an affix beginning with a vowel, when it has an indicatory क् or छ् ॥

As वित्तिरे कर्तयः, शकुना इव पत्मिः ॥ In secular language वित्तेनिरे, पेनिष् ॥

घसिभर्सोर्हलिं च ॥१००॥ पदानि ॥ घसि, भसोः, हलि, च, (अच्चि क्षिणिति) वृत्तिः ॥ घसि भस इत्येतयोऽच्छन्दसि उपवाया लोपो भवति हजाशवजार्दी च क्षिणिति प्रथये परतः ।

100. The root-vowel of घस् and भस् is elided in the Chhandas, before any affix, whether beginning with a vowel or a consonant, which has an indicatory क् or छ् ॥

Thus सन्धिष्ठमे सप्तीतेष्व मे, बठ्यांते हरी धाताः ॥ सन्धिः अङ् thus derived: क्षिर् is added to the root अङ्; then by II. 4. 39, घस् is substituted for अङ्; thus घस् + ति = घस् + ति (अ being elided by the present sūtra) = घ + ति (स being elided by VIII. 2. 26), then त is changed to थ, and घ to ग and we have ग्धिः ॥ Then समाना ग्धिः = सन्धिः (समान changed to स VI. 3. 84). The word बड्याम् is the Imperative of भस्, thus भस् + अङ् + साम् = भ भस् + साम् = च भस् + साम् (VI. 4. 100) = बध् + साम् (VIII. 2. 26) = च ब् + धाम् = बध्याम् ॥ This rule of elision being a rarity and a subsequent rule ought to have operated first, but, as a Vedic anomaly, the reduplication takes place first. See VII. 2. 67 .

Why do we read "before an affix, beginning also with a consonant"? Because the elision takes place before a vowel-affix also, as बःसति = भस् + इल + ति = ब भस् + भति (VII. 1. 4) = बप्सति (VIII. 4. 55).

Why having an indicatory क् or छ्? Observe अङ्गार् बभस्ति ॥ The अ has been added into the aphorism by the Vārtikakāra.

हुश्वक्ष्यो हेर्द्धिः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हु-श्वलश्योः, हे:, धिः, ॥ ,

वृत्तिः ॥ हु इत्येतस्मात् श्वलन्ते यथोत्तरस्य हलादेहः स्थाने धिरादेशो भवति ।

101. After हु and after a consonant (with the exception of semi-vowels and प्रसाल), धि is substituted for the

Imperative affix हि, when the latter does not take the augment इट् ॥

Thus हु—शृणुधि; स्त्रूऽन्विष्टः; भिद्—भिन्दिष्टः, डिद्—डिन्दिष्टः ॥ But श्रीणीहि (VI. 4. 113) not ending in consonants. Why 'हि only'? Observe शुहृताम् ॥ Why do we read the anuvṛtti of हलि into this sūtra? When हि does not begin with a consonant, but with a vowel, i. e. when it takes the augment इट्, the rule does not apply. As हसिहि, स्वपिहि ॥ In the case of शुहृताम्, भिन्दाम्, when हि is replaced by ताम् (VII. 1. 35) this substitution does not take place because ताम् is a later rule in the order of Ashṭādhyāyī, and because सद्गृह्णते विप्रतिषेधे यद्याधितं तद्याधितं मत् "When two rules, while they apply simultaneously mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether". When अक्षर् is added by V. 3. 71, धि substitution takes place, as भिन्दकिष्टः, डिन्दकिष्टः ॥ The maxim पुनः प्रसङ्ग विजानाम् सिद्धम् applies here:—"Occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had been previously superseded by a subsequent rule."

शुश्चणुपृष्ठवृद्ध्यद्वचन्दसि ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शु-शृणु-पृ-कृ-वृ-भ्यः, छन्दसि, हेत्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शु शृणु पृ कृ वृ इत्येतेष्य उत्तरस्य हेत्तिरिवशो भवति उच्चासि विषये ।

102. धि is substituted for हि in the Vedas, after शु, शृणु, पृ, कृ and वृ ॥

As शुधी हविभिन्न, शृणुधी, गिरः, पूर्णि, उल्लङ्घुरुषात्क धि and अवावृधि, ॥

In शृणुधी, the हि is not elided after the उ of शु, as it was required by VI. 4. 106, since the present aphorism specifically mentions it. The lengthening takes place by VI. 3. 137. The forms other than शृणुधि are irregular; शप्त being added diversely by III. 1. 85, and then elided diversely by बहूलचन्दसि II. 4. 73

अडितश्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्ग-इतः, च, हेत्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अडितश्च हेत्तिरिवशो भवति ॥

103. धि is substituted for हि, when the tense-affix is not डित् ॥

Under III. 4. 88 हि is also फित् in the Vedas: and when it is फित्, it is not डित् by I. 2. 4. Thus गरन्धि, लग्निष्टः and युवोधि in the following सोमरात्म्य अस्मयं तद्यथावृत्य प्रयात्मि, युवोध्यस्मज्ञ शुहृतामनः:

Why do we say 'when it is not डित्'? Observe श्रीणीहि ॥ गरन्धि is irregularly Parasmaipada of रथः; the रथः being replaced by रस्तु, and the reduplicate lengthened as a Vedic form. The रथः is not elided, by VI. 4. 37 as the affix is not डित् ॥ प्रयात्मि is from यन्, the शप्त् is elided: and युवोधि from यु (यौति), the शप्त् being replaced by शट् ॥

चिणो-लुक् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिणः, लुक्, प्रत्ययस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिण उत्तरस्य प्रत्ययस्य शुभवति ॥

104. The personal-endings are elided after चिण्, the third person; singular Passive of the Aorist.

As अहारि, अकावि, अकारि, अपाचि ॥ So also अकारितराम्, अहारितमाम्, here the elision of the personal affix* ते (III. I. 60) of the Aorist being considered as *asiddha*, the affixes तरप् and तमप् are not elided: though if the sūtra were to be literally interpreted, *every affix* after चिण्, ought to be elided. Of the word शिष्टति is understood here; so that किंतु and डित् affixes of चिण् are elided and not every affix.

अतो हेः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, हेः, अङ्गस्य ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अकारान्ताशङ्कादुत्तरस्य हेलुगभवति ॥

105. The Imperative affix, हि is elided after a stem ending in short अ ॥

Thus पच, गृ, गच्छ, धाव ॥ But युहि, रुहि after stems ending in उ. Why do we say “short अ”? Observe लुनीहि, मुनीहि (लुना + हि, the ī substitution by VI. 4. 113, should be considered *asiddha*), here हि is not elided after the long आ ॥

उतभ्य प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उतः, च, प्रत्ययात्, असंयोग पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उक्तारो यो इसंयोगपूर्वस्तत्त्वाथस्यादुत्तरस्य हेस्तुभवति ।
वार्तिकम् ॥ उतभ्य प्रत्ययादित्यन्तं छन्दसि वेति वक्तव्यं ॥

106. The Imperative हि is elided after the उ of an affix, in the vikaraṇa with which the Present-stem (special conjugation) is made, provided that the उ is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

The affix उ with which the Present-stem is made is उ and इन् ॥ Thus चिन्तु, सुनु, कुरु ॥ Why after ‘उ’? Observe लुनीहि, मुनीहि ॥ Why do we say “उ being part of the vikaraṇa or affix”? Observe रुहि, युहि, here उ is part of the *root* itself, and not of the vikaraṇa. Why do we say ‘not preceded by a conjunct consonant’? Observe प्राप्नुहि, राघुहि, सशुणुहि ॥

Vartt :—The elision of हि after the उ of the vikaraṇa उ and इन् is optional in the Vedas; as आत्मुहि यातुपानाम्, पिनुहि यूक्तपातिम्, सेत मा भागिनं कृषुहि ॥

लोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां स्वोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, च; अस्य, अन्यतरस्योम्, मध्योः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योयस्तुक्तारो इसंयोगपूर्वस्तत्त्वस्य प्रत्ययस्यान्यतरस्यां लोपो भवति ॥

107. The उ of the vikaraṇa उ and इन्, where not preceded by a conjunct consonant, may be elided optionally before a personal ending beginning with म or य ॥

Thus सुन्वः or सुनुवः, सुन्मः, सुनुमः, तन्वः, तनुवः, तन्मः, तनुमः ॥ The उ must be-

long to the affix, and should not be part of the root. Therefore not in युवः, युमः ॥

Why do we say 'not preceded by a conjunct consonant'? Observe. शक्युवः, शक्युमः only. Though the elision word लुक् was understood in this sūtra, the mention of लोप् indicates that the *final* is only to be elided, and not the whole affix तु ॥ It is a general maxim that the words लुक्, लु and लुर् cause the elision of the *whole* affix, while 'lopa' will cause elision of the final letter only of the affix. If the whole affix be elided, we could not get युन्वः &c., Moreover, in कुर्व and कुर्म formed by guṇa of क्, there would have been no guṇa, had the word लुक् been used, for I. 1. 63, would have prevented guṇa; but by using the word लोप we have such guṇa also by I. 1. 62.

नित्यं करोते: ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, करोते:, ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ करोतेस्तरस्य उक्ताप्रत्ययस्य वक्तारमकारादौ प्रत्यये परतो नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

108. The elision of उ is invariable before ए and ओ in the case of क् (करोति).

Thus कुर्वः and कुर्मः ॥ Thus क्+उ+षः = कुर्+उ+षः (VI. 4. 110) = कुर्+०+षः (VI. 4. 108). Now the lopā being not sthānivāt, when a vowel is to be lengthened (I. 1. 58), उ of क् should be lengthened by VIII. 2. 77. This contingency is prevented by VIII. 2. 79.

ये च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, लोपः नित्यंकरोते: ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ यक्तारादौ च प्रत्यये परतः करोतेस्तरस्येकाप्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

109. The affix उ of the stem कुरु is always elided before a personal ending beginning with a य ॥

Thus कुर्वात्, कुर्यात्, and कुर्युः ॥ The augment आस्त् is treated here as an affix, and it makes the personal ending to which it is added, as an affix beginning with य ॥

अत उत्सार्वधातुके ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ अंतः, उत्, सार्वधातु के, कङ्गिति ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ उक्ताप्रत्ययात्तस्य करोतेस्तरस्य स्थाने उक्तार आदीशो भवति सार्वधातुके कङ्गिति परतः ॥

110. Before a Sārvadhātuka affix with an indicative ए or उ, short उ is substituted for the उ of क् (कर्+उ) when gunated.

Thus क्+उ+तस्मि = कर्+उ+तस्मि (VII. 3. 84) = कुर्+उ+तस्मि = कुरुतः (VI. 4. 110) The तस्मि is किन् by I. 2. 4. So also कुर्वन्ति, करु ॥ Why do we say 'before a Sārvadhātukā'? So that the rule may apply to what was once a Sārvadhātuka, though no longer existent. Thus कुरु where the personal ending हि is elided, but it leaves its effect behind. The त् in उत् shows that this उ is not to be gunated by VII. 3. 86. When the affix is not किन् or डिन् we have करोति, करोषि and करोमि (I. 2. 4).

इनसोरह्लोपः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-असोः, अत्-लोपः, सार्वधातुके कङ्गिति ॥

बृत्तिः । अस्यास्तश्चाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कङ्गिति परतः ।

111. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix, the आ of श्वा and अस् is elided.

इन् is the characteristic of the roots of the Budhâdi class, while अस् is the root itself. Thus रूपः; रूपाति, भिन्तः, भिन्वन्ति; So also of अस्—स्तः, सन्ति ॥ But भिन्नि and अस्ति before non—कित् and non—डित् affixes. इन् + अस् ought to be इनस्, instead of that we have इन् in the sûtra. The पररूप single substitution is an irregularity.

इनाभ्युस्तयोरातः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इना-अभ्युस्तयोः, आतः, लोपः सार्वधातुके कडिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मा इत्येतस्याभ्यस्तानां चाङ्गानामाकारस्य लोपो भवति सार्वधातुके कृडिति परतः ।

112. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a vowel, the long आ of श्वा (the vikarana of the 9th class) and of the reduplicate stems is elided.

Thus लुन्ते, लुनताम्, अलुनतः; मिमते, मिमताम्, अमिमत, संजिहते, संजिहताम् and समजिहत ॥ Why do we say 'of इना and the reduplicates'? Observe आन्ति, वान्ति ॥ Why 'of long आ'? Observe विभ्रति ॥ Why 'before कित् and डित्'? Observe अलुनात्, अजहात् ॥

ई हृल्यधोः ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, हलि, अ-धो (इनाभ्युस्तयोरातः सार्वधातुके कडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आन्तानामङ्गानामभ्यस्तानां च धुवर्जितानामात ईकारादेशो भवति इनाशी सार्वधातुके कृडिति परतः ॥

113. Before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant, the आ of श्वा and of the reduplicate stems is replaced by ई, except when the root is दा or धा (घु) ॥

Thus लुनीतः, उनीतः, लुनीथः, उनीथः, लुनीते and उनीते ॥ Of reduplicates we have मिमीते, मिमीथे, मिमीध्वे, संजिहीते, संजिहीथे, संजहीध्वे ॥ Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe लुनन्ति, मिमते ॥ Why with the exception of घु? Observe इतः, धतः ॥ So also लुनाति and जहाति before non-कित् and non-डित् affixes.

इहरिद्रस्य ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत, हरिद्रस्य, (हलिसार्वधातुकेकृडिति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इहित्रातेहलाशी सार्वधातुके कृडिति परत इकारादेशो भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ इहित्रातेरार्थधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ इहित्रातेरार्थधातुके लोपो वक्तव्यः ॥—

Kārikā ॥ न इहित्रातेरार्थधातुके लोपो इहित्राते च नेत्यते ।

इहित्रातेरार्थधातुके विहित्रातीति वा ॥

वा० ॥ अथतन्यां वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

114. ई is substituted for the आ of दरिद्रा before a Sârvadhâtuka कित् or डित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus दरिद्रितः, दरिद्रिथः, दरिद्रिवः, दरिद्रिमः ॥ But दरिद्रति before a vowel affix (VI. 4. 112) and दरिद्राति before a non-कित् affix.

Vārt :—The final of सरिद्रा is elided before an Ārdhadhātuka affix.
Vārt :—And this elision should be considered as siddha, in applying rules relating to affixes. Thus सरिद्रा by loosing रा becomes सरिद्र, and we should apply those affixes which would come after a form like 'daridr', and not what would have come after a form like 'daridrā'. Thus न comes after roots ending in long रा (III. I. 141) : but this affix would not be applied here, but the general affix अच् (III. I. 134). Thus सरिद्राति = सरिद्रः ॥

Kārikā :—The elision does not take place in the forms सरिद्रायत् and सरिद्राण्, and the Desiderative may be either सिसरिद्रासति or सिसरिद्रिष्टिः ॥ Siddhānta Kaumudi gives the following rule: "भा of सरिद्रा should be considered as elided when applying an ārdhadhātuka affix, but optionally so before लुइ (Aorist), and not at all before सन् (Desiderative), प्वल् and त्पुट" ॥

Vārt :—Optionally 'so in the Aorist (adyatana-past) as, असरिद्रीत् or असरिद्रासीत् ॥ The latter form is evolved by VII. 2. 73 and elision of सिच् ॥ The form सरिद्रस्य in the sūtra is Vedic, the root being shortened from सरिद्रा to सरिद्र ॥

भियो अन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (इहलि कृडिति सार्वधातु के) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भी हस्यतरस्याम्नस्यान्यतरस्यामिकारादेशो भवति हलाशी कृडिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

115. इ is optionally substituted for the ई of भी before a Sārvadhātuka affix beginning with a consonant and having an indicatory क् or ख् ॥

Thus विभितः or विभीतः; विभियः or विभीयः; विभिवः or विभीवः; विभिमः or विभीमः ॥ But विभिति before a vowel-beginning affix and विभेति before a non-डित् affix and भीयते before an ārdhadhātuka affix.

जहातेष्व ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ जहातेः, च, (इहलि अन्यतरस्याम् कृडिति सार्वधातुके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेष्व इकारादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्यां हलाशी कृडिति सार्वधातुके परतः ॥

116. इ is optionally substituted for the आ of हा (जहाति) before a Sārvadhātuka कितृ or डित् affix beginning with a consonant.

Thus जहितः or जहीतः (VI. 4. 113) जहियः or जहीयः (VI. 4. 113). But जहिति before a vowel affix, and जहाति before a non-डित् affix, and हीयते and जहीयते before an ārdhadhātuka. The separation of this sūtra from the last, e.g., for the sake of subsequent aphorisms.

आ च हौ ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, च, हौ, (इ अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेराकारान्तरादेशो भवति इकाराशान्यतरस्यां हौ परतः ।

117. आ as well as इ may optionally be substituted for the final of the stem of हा before the Imperative ending 'हि' ॥

Thus जहाहि, जहीहि or जहीहि (VI. 4. 113).

लोपो यि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोपः, यि, (जहाते: सावेधातुके कृडिति) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ लोपो भवति जहातेर्यकारावौ कृडिति सावेधातुके परतः ।

118. The final of the stem of हा is elided before an affix beginning with य being a Sârvadhâtuka कित्र or डित्र affix.

Thus जहात्, जहाताय and जहुः ॥

घ्वसोरेद्वावभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ घु-असोः, एत, हौ, अभ्यास-
लोपः, च, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घुसंज्ञकानामङ्गानामस्तेषु एकारादेशो भवति ही परतो अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

119. For the final vowel of the roots दा and धा (घु), and for the स् of अस्, is substituted ए before the Imperative ending हि; and thereby the reduplicated syllable of दा and धा is elided.

Thus देहि, and धेहि, of घु, and एधि of अस्, the स being elided by this sûtra, and अ being elided by VI. 4. 111. This लोप of the present sûtra should be considered as having an indicatory श so that the *whole* of the reduplicated and not only the final letter of the abhyâsa (I. 1. 55) is elided.

अत एकहस्तमध्ये ज्ञादेशादेर्लिति ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः, एक-हस्त, मध्ये,
अनादेशादे:, लिति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृडितीतिवर्तते ॥ लिति परत आदेश धारियस्याङ्गस्य नास्ति, तस्य एकहस्तमध्ये, असहाययोर्हलोर्मध्ये
यो ऽकारस्तस्य एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिति कृडिति परतः ॥

वाच्चन्तिकष्ट ॥ एम्बेद्वं वन्नव्ययम् ॥ वा० ॥ नशिमन्योरलित्येद्वं वन्नव्ययम् ॥.

वा० ॥ छन्दस्यमिपचोरप्यलिति एत्वं वन्नव्ययम् ॥ वा० ॥ यजित्रप्योश्च ॥

120. ए is substituted for the short अ standing between two simple consonants of a verbal stem, before the personal endings of the Perfect which have an indicator क्त (I. 2. 5), provided that, at the beginning of the root, in the reduplication, no other consonant has been substituted; and when this ए is substituted, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus रेण्टुः, रेणुः, येम्तुः, येषुः, पेच्चतुः, पेच्चुः, ऐभतुः, ऐभुः ॥ Why 'for अ'? Observe विरिवतुः, विरिवुः: the इ is not replaced. Why do we say 'short अ'? Observe रासे, रासाते, रासिरे ॥ Why do we say 'standing between two simple consonants'? Observe रक्षतुः, रक्षुः ॥ Some say this example is not appropriate, for by I. 2. 5, the Perfect affixes are not कित्र here, as they come after a conjunct consonant. The following is then more appropriate:—तस्तरुः and तस्तरः ॥ Why do we say 'which has no substituted consonant in the reduplicate'? Observe चक्षतुः, चक्षुः, जग्यतुः, जग्युः, चंभणतुः, चंभणुः ॥

The substitution referred to here must be caused by the affixes of the Perfect, therefore, the rule will apply to नेमतुः, नेतुः, सेतुः and सेतात्, सहित् though नम् and नेत् are the roots, and न् and त् are changed to न् and स् ॥ The substitution of ज्ञ् consonant or a चर् consonant in the reduplicate, should not be here considered asiddha (VIII. 4. 54, read with VIII. 2. 1). That substitution will be considered a substitution for the purposes of this sūtra and will make the stem अंदिशादि:, as is indicated by the special exception made in favor of कल् and भज् (VI. 4. 122). If the form of the letter is not changed in the reduplicate, by substitution, then such substitution will not make the stem अंदेशादि: ॥ Thus by VIII. 4. 54, a चर् letter (च, ट, त, क, प, श, ष, स) is substituted for a consonant (other than a nasal and a semi-vowel) in the reduplicate.

Thus in पञ्च् the reduplicate is पपञ्च्, the first प् is also a *substitute*, for the चर् substitute of प् will be प् ॥ Such substitutes, however, are not meant here.

This we learn from the implication (jñāpaka) of sūtra VI. 4. 126 where exception is made in case of शस् and वद् ॥ Therefore, where the substitute is a *different* letter, then the reduplicate becomes Adeśādī: otherwise not.

When the affixes are not किन् or डिन् the rule does not apply: as अहं पपञ्च, अहं पपठ ॥

Vārt—ए् is substituted for the अ of इम् under similar circumstances:—thus देभतुः, देसुः ॥ The elision of the nasal by VI. 4. 24, would be considered asiddha by VI. 4. 22, hence this vārtika.

Vārt—ए् is substituted for the अ of नश् and मन् before affixes other than those of लिद् ॥ As अनेशम्, मेनका ॥ अनेशम् is the Aorist in अह् of नश् which belongs to Pushādi roots (III. 1. 55). मेनका is formed by बुन् (III. 1. 150). Padamanjari gives अनेशन् (3rd Pl.), and quotes अनेशन्त्वयेषवः ॥

Vārt—In the Vedas, ए is substituted for the अ of अम् and पञ्च् before affixes other than those of the Perfect, as व्येमानम्, (वि + अम् + आनश्, the augment मुक् being dropped); पञ्चिन् instead of पञ्चेन्, the Imperfect of पञ्च् ॥ The shortening is also a Vedic irregularity.

Vārt—So also of यज् and वष् as आयेजे and आवेषे the Imperfect Vedic forms. The augment आऽ being added by VI. 4. 73.

थलि च सेटि ॥१२१॥ पदानि ॥ थलि, च, सेटि, (अत एक हल मध्ये अनादेशादेः) द्रांतः ॥ थलि च सेटि परतं द्रनावेशाविरङ्गय एकहलमध्यगतस्यातः स्थाने एकार आवेषो भवति अभ्यासलोपम् ॥

121. ए् is substituted for अ, of a verbal stem standing between two simple consonants, the stem not having any different letter substituted in the reduplicate, when the ending थल् of the Perfect having the augment इट् follows, and thereby, the reduplicate is elided.

Thus पेत्तिथ, शैक्षिय ॥ But पपक्त्य before अनि॑ थ ; दिविथ, the vowel being इ and not अ ; तत्तिथ, रत्तिथ, the अ not standing between two *simple* consonants ; and चक्षिय, वभणिय, the reduplicate having the substitutes च and व different from क्ष and भ ॥ This sūtra applies even when the affix is not क्षित्; and थल् is read in the sūtra only for the sake of clearness, no non-kīt Perfect ending can take इट except थल् ॥

तृफलभजत्र्यंपश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृ, फल, भज, त्रपः, च, (अत एक ह्लमध्ये अनादेशादेलिटिथलिचसेटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृ फल भज त्रप् इत्येतेषामप्नानामत एकारादेशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च, लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

वाच्चिकपू ॥ अन्येष्वोति वन्तव्यय ॥

122. ए is substituted for the अ of तृ, फल, भज and त्रप, and the reduplicate is elided, when the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क्ष (or छ) follow, as well as when थल् with the इट augment follows.

Thus तेरतुः, तेरुः, तेरिथ, फेलतुः, फेलुः, फेलिथ, भेजतु, भेजुः, भेजिथ, वेपे, वेपाते, वेपिरे ॥ In the case of तृ the rule applies to the अ obtained by Guṇa, contrary to VI. 4. 126, in फल and भज the rule, that no different substitute should be in the reduplicate, is not adhered to, and in त्रप the अ does not stand between two *simple* consonants.

Vart: It should be stated that the rule applies to अन्य also:-as, अथतुः, अथेतुः ॥

राधो हिंसायाम ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधो हिंसायाम ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधो हिंसायामर्थेऽनर्णस्य एकार अ॒देशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परंतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

123. ए is substituted for the आ of राध when meaning ‘to hurt some one’, and the reduplicate is elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क्ष (or छ), as well as before थल् with the इट augment.

Thus अपरेधतुः, अपरेतुः, अपरेतिथ, but राधतुः, राधुः, राधिथ in any other sense than that of ‘hurting’. In this sūtra the long आ of राधु is to be replaced by ए, the anuvṛitti of short अ (अतः VI. 4. 120) is therefore not appropriate here. We should either read the anuvṛitti of आ from VI. 4. 112, or we should read the word एकह्लमध्ये in this way “in राध् whatever stands between two simple consonants is replaced by ए”.

वा जूञ्मुत्रसाम ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, जू, झमु, त्रसाम, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जू झमु वा इत्येतेषामप्नानामतः स्थाने॑ वा एकार आ॒देशो भवति अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परतस्थलि च सेटि ॥

124. ए is optionally substituted for the अ of the stems जर् (जृ), भ्रम्, and त्रस्, and the reduplicate is thereby elided, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्), as well as before the थल् with the augment इट् ॥

Thus जेरतुः, जेरुः, जेरिथ, or जजरतुः, जजरुः, जजरिथ, भ्रेमतुः, भ्रेमुः, भ्रेमिथ, or बभ्र मतुः, बभ्रषुः, बभ्रमिथ, ब्रेसतुः, ब्रेसुः, ब्रेसिथ, or तत्रसतुः, तत्रसुः, तत्रसिथ ॥

फणां च सप्तानाम् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ फणाम्, च, सप्तानाम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फणाशीनां सप्तानां धातूनामवर्णस्य स्थाने वा एकार अर्देशो भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च लिटि कृडिति परत, स्थलि च सेटि ॥

125. ए is optionally substituted for the अ and आ of the seven roots फण्, राज्, भ्राज्, भ्राश्, भ्लाश्, स्यम् and स्वन्; and the reduplicate is elided thereby, before the affixes of the Perfect having an indicatory क् (or ड्) as well as before the थ with the इट् augment.

Thus केणतुः, केणुः, केणिथ or पकेणतुः; पकेणुः, पकेणिथ; रेजतुः, रेजुः, रेजिथ, or रराजतुः, रराजुः; रराजिथ; भ्रेजे, भ्रेजाते, भ्रिजे, or बभ्राजे, बभ्राजाते, बभ्राजिरे, भ्रेशे, भ्रेशाते, भ्रिशेर, or बभ्राशे, बभ्राशाते, बभ्राशिरे; भ्लेशे, भ्लेशाते, भ्लेशिरे, or बभ्लाशे, बभ्लाशाते, बभ्लाशिरे; स्येमतुः, स्येमुः, स्येमिथ, or सस्यमतुः, सस्यषुः, सस्यमिथ; स्वेनतुः, स्वेनुः, स्वेनिथ, or सस्वनतुः, सस्वनुः, सस्वनिथ. Why of 'seven' ? Observe, रध्वनतुः, रध्वनुः, रध्वनिथ ॥ The Phanḍādi is a subdivision of Bhuādi (873-879)

न शसददवार्दिगुणानाम् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शस्, दद्, वार्दि, गुणानाम्, (अत एक हल्मध्येऽनादेशादेलिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शस दद इत्येत्यर्थकाराशीनां च धातूनां एु इत्येवमभिनिर्वृत्तस्य च योकारस्तस्य स्थाने एकार-एशो न भवति, अभ्यासलोपश्च ॥

126. ए is not substituted for the अ of शस्, दद्, or of roots beginning with a व, or of such verbal stems in which the अ results through the substitution of Guṇa, though the affixes of the Perfect being कित्र् or डित्र् follow, or the set थल्, nor is the reduplicate elided.

— Thus विशाशतुः, विशाशुः, विशाशिथ, इव्वे, इश्वाते, इश्विर, Of roots beginning with वः-वस्मतुः, वव्षुः, वव्मिथ, ॥ Of roots where अ is the result of Guṇa, विशाशरतुः, विशशहुः, विशाशिथ, लङ्घविथ, पुषविथ ॥ गुणशब्दाभिनिर्वृत्तस्यार्द्धस्यैकारस्य चायमकार इति एत्वं प्रतिषिद्धयते ॥

The अ of Guṇa may result either from the guṇa of क् as क् changed to कर् or of ड् changed to ओ again changed to अव् as लु—लव ॥

अर्वणरुसावनभः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्वैणः, तृ, असौ, अनभः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्वैन्नित्येतस्याङ्गस्यत् इत्यथमावेशो भवति, सुभेत्ततः परो न भवति, स च नम उत्तरो न भवति ॥

127. त् (which is changed to न्त् in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominate singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is त्, the एः is for the sake of making this affix an उणित्, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have तुष् augment VII. I. 70. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वतः, अर्वता, अर्वदभ्याम्, अर्वाङ्गः, अर्वती, धार्वतम् ॥ असाचिति क्रिय, अर्वा ॥ अनप्र इति.क्रिय, अनवाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनवाण्युं वृश्च अन्त्रजिह्वम् ॥

But अर्वा in the Nominate Sing: and अनवाणौ, अनर्वाणः, अनवाण्यं वृश्च अन्त्रजिह्वम् with the Negative Particle नम् ॥

मधवा बहुलम् ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भमधवा, बहुलम्, (त्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधवन्नितेतस्याङ्गस्य बहुलं त् इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

128. त् is diversely substituted for the final of मधवन् ॥

As मधवान्, मधवन्तौ, मधवन्तः, मधवन्तम्, मधवन्तौ, मधवतः, मधवता, मधवती, माघव-
तम्, ॥ न च भवति, मधवा, मधवानौ, मधवानः, मधवानम्, मधवानौ, मधोनः, मधोना, मधवभ्याम्, मधवभिः
मधोनी, माघवनम् ॥

भस्य ॥ १८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्येयथमाधिकार, आ अध्यायपरिसमाप्तेः, यदिति ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो भस्येयेवं तद्विस्तव्यम् ॥

129. Whatever will be taught in the following upto the end of the Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19).

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 130 says 'पद् is the substitute of पाद्' ॥ It means पद् is substituted for पाद् when the latter gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus हिपदः पश्य, हिपशा कृतम् but हिपारौ, हिपारः where the affixes are those of Sarvanāmasthāna.

पादः पत् ॥ १३० ॥ पादः, पत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिति पादशब्दो लुप्ताकारो गृह्णते । तदन्तस्थाङ्गस्य भस्य पर्दित्यांगमविद्वो भवति । स च पादलङ्घ-
स्यव भवति ॥

130. For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha.

The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्विद्यमानस्थविद्वा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule." ॥ Thus हिपदः पश्य, हिपशा, हिपरे, हिपदिकां दशाति (V. 4. 1), हिपदिकां दशाति, वैयाघपयः ॥

वसोः संप्रसारणम् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तस्य भस्य संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

131. The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वंस्) is vocalised to ऊ in a Bha stem:

Thus विदुषः पद्य, विदुषा, विदुषे, वेचुषः पश्य, पेचुषा, पेचुषे, वयुषः पश्य ॥ For the purposes of the elision of आ (VI. 4. 64), vocalisation under the present sūtra should not be considered as asiddha (VI. 4. 22). Thus पा + कवसु (III. 2. 107) = पपा + वस् = पपा + उस् + शस् (VI. 4. 131, VI. 1. 108). Now if ऊ were to be considered as asiddha, then the affix does not begin with a vowel, and we can not apply VI. 4. 64, which requires the elision of आ, but the samprasāraṇa is not considered asiddha, and we have पृ + उस् + अस् = पृषुषः पद्य ॥ In the nominative, where the stem is not भं, we have पपा + वस् + स् = पपी + वस् + स (VI. 4. 66) = पपीवान् (VII. 1. 70, VI. 4. 10, VI. 1. 68 and VIII. 2. 23). The affix कवसु is included in वसु for the purposes of samprasāraṇa.

वाह ऊह ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, ऊह ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाह इत्येवमन्तस्य भस्य ऊह इत्येतत्संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

132. The व् in वाह is vocalised to ऊ (ऊह), when the compound stem is Bha.

The word वाह is a निष्ठ formed stem by III. 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada: hence we have used the word "compound." Thus प्रष्टौहः, प्रशीहा, प्रशीहे, विलोहा, विलोहे ॥ By VI. 1. 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ; and then प्रष्ट + ऊह = प्रष्टौह ; the Vṛiddhi being substituted by VI. 1. 89. This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus : प्रष्ट + वह + शस् = प्रष्ट + उह + अस् (VI. 1. 108) = प्रष्ट + ओह + अस् (the affix निष्ठ III. 2. 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रष्टौहः (VI. 1. 88). In fact निष्ठ is never added to वह (III. 2. 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊह, indicates the existence of following maxim : असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गः ; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranya operation : therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

इत्युवमधोनामतद्वित्तेण ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इव, युव, मधोनाम, अतद्विते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन् युवन्, मधवन् इत्येतेषामप्नानप्नेनद्विते प्रत्यये परतः संप्रसारणं भवति ॥

133. The व of इवन्, युवन् and मधवन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus शुनः, शुने, शुनः, शूना, शूने, मधोनः, मधोना, मधोने ॥ But शौवनं मांसम् योवनं वर्तने, मधवनः स्थालीपाकः with Taddhita affixes. शौवनं is formed by अन् affix (IV. 3. 154) and औ being added by VII. 3. 4 as अन् belongs dvārādi class.

This vocalisation takes place of the nouns ending in व्, but not when they become feminiae or do not end in व्, as युवतीः पश्य, मधवतः, मधवते, मधवता ॥ The word अनः of the next sūtra, in a way, qualifies this sūtra also.

अल्लोपोऽनः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्, लोपः, अनः ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अनियेवमन्तस्य भूत्य अकारलोपो भवति ॥
 वार्तिकांश् ॥ अनो नकारान्तस्यायं लोप इत्थते ॥

134. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

As राजः पश्य, राजा, राजे, तक्षणः पश्य, तक्षणा and तक्षणे ॥ *Vdrt*:—The elision takes place of a stem which actually ends in न्, therefore, it does not take place here, राजकीयम् ॥

षपूर्वहन्तुराक्षामणि ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्व, हन्, धृतराक्षाम, अणि ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अकारपूर्वो या अन् हनो धृतराजश्च तस्याकारलोपो भवति ॥

135. Of a Bhat stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन्, the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्षणः, ताक्षणः, औनंग्नः, धार्तराजः ॥ But सामनः, वैमन ॥ Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षणः ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by a ष’? Observe सामनः and वैमनः from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्; here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI. 4. 167 keeps these words in their primitive state so far.

विभाषा डिश्योः ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, डि, श्योः (अल्लोपोऽनः) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ डौ परतः शीशब्दे च अनोन्विभाषा अकारलोपो भवति ॥

136. In a stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As राजि or राजनि, साम्नि or सामनि, साम्नी or सामनी (VII. I. 19).

न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, संयोगात्, व्, म, अन्तपत्, (अत्यु-
 पोऽनः) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ वकारमकारान्तात्संयोगादुच्चास्यानो अकारस्य लोपो न भवति ॥

137. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus पर्वणा, पर्वण, अथर्वणा, अथर्वणे, चर्मणा and चर्मणे ॥ Why do we say ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe प्रतिरूपना, प्रातर्संन्व, साम्ना, साम्न ॥ Why do we say ‘stems in वन् and मन्’? Observe तक्षणा, and तक्षणे ॥

अचः ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, (भूत्य अल्लोपः) ॥
 वृत्तिः ॥ अच इत्ययतञ्चतिर्लुप्तनकारो गृह्णते । तदन्तस्य भूत्य अकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

138. The अ of अच् (अञ्च) is elided at the end of a Bha stem.

Thus इभीचः पद्य, इधीचा, इभीचे, मधूचः पद्य, मधूचा, मधूचे ॥ The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI. 3. 138; and अ of अच् is elided by VI. 4. 24.

उद् ईत् ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, ईत्, (अचः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ उर उन्नरस्याच ईकारावेशो भवति ॥

139. Long ई is substituted for the अ of अच् (अञ्च), after the word उत् when the stem is Bha.

As उर्ध्वचः, उर्ध्वचा, उर्ध्वचे ॥

आतो धातोः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतंः, धातोः, (भस्य लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तस्य धातोर्भेस्य लोपो भवति ॥

140. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

Thus कलालपः पद्यः, कीलालपा, कीलालपे, शुभेयः पद्य, शुभेया, and शुभेये from कलालपा and शुभेया ॥ Why do we say 'the आ of a root'? Observe खद्वः पद्य, माला: पद्य ॥ This sūtra should be divided into two (1) आतः (2) धातोः; so that the long आ in general may be elided. For Pāṇini himself has declined त्वा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII. 1. 37, (त्वो त्व्यप्) and III. 1. 83, (अनः शानच्) ॥

मन्त्रेष्वाङ्ग्याद्वरात्मनः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रेषु, आङ्गि, आदेः, आत्मनः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रेषु आङ्गि परत आत्मन आरंलोपो भवति ॥
वार्तिकर्म् ॥ आङ्गान्यव्यापि छन्दसि लोपो इश्यते ॥

141. In the Mantras, the beginning of आत्मन् is elided, when the affix of the Instrumental Singular follows.

आङ्ग is the name of the Instrumental singular affix, given by ancient Grammarians. Thus स्मना इवेभ्यः, स्मना सामेषु ॥ Why in the Mantras? Observe आत्मनो कृतम् ॥ Why in the Instrumental Singular? यस्मन् स्तत्रो वरिष्ठा ॥

Vart :—The elision of 'आ' of 'ātman' is found in other cases also, but not so frequently as in the Instrumental, as स्मन्यासमञ्जत महाम् ॥

ति विशतेऽडिति ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ति, विशतेः, डिति, (भस्य, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य विशतेस्तु शब्दस्य डिति प्रत्यये परतो लोपो भवति ॥

142. Of the Bha stem विशति, before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided.

Thus दिशकः = विशत्या क्रीतः (with इत्युन् V. 1. 24), विशं शतम्, (विशतेः पूरणो विशः, with इट् affix V. 2. 48), एकविशः ॥ Why do we say 'having an indicatory ड'? Observe विशत्या ॥

दे: ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दे:, (दिति, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ विसंजकस्य डिति प्रत्ययरतो लोपो भवति ॥'

143. . Before an affix having an indicatory इ, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any; that follows it, is elided.

Thus कुषुइत्, नंडुन् and वैतस्त् with इमतुप (IV. 2. 87). So also चिशती क्रीढः = चिशकः with इहुर् of V. 1. 24. The rule applies even to non-bhā bases, for effect must be given to the indicatory इ ॥ Thus उपतरजः, मन्दुरजः (III. 2. 97 with the kṛit affix इ) ॥

नस्तद्विते ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न:, तद्विते, (अस्य, दे:, लोपः) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ नकारान्तस्य भस्य टलोपो भवति तद्विते परतः ॥

वातिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सब्रद्वचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुथुमित्तेतिलिजाजलिलाहिलिशिलालिशिखण्डसू-
करसधसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ॥ वातिकम् ॥ वैतस्मनो विकार उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ चर्मणः कोश उपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ शुनः संकोच उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ अव्ययानां च सर्वयप्रातिकार्थ्यमुपसंख्यानम् ॥

144. Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus आभिशार्मिः, औडुलोमिः, सारलोमिः from भग्निशार्मन्, उडुलोमन्, and सरलोमन् with the Taddhita affix इ॒॒ (IV. 1. 96). Why do we say 'ending in न्'? Observe सात्वतः ॥ Why 'before a Taddhita affix'? Observe शर्मणा, शर्मण ॥

Vart :—The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following : 1. सब्रद्वचारिन्—साब्रद्वचारः (IV. 3. 120), 2. पीठ-
सार्पिन्—पैठसर्पः (IV. 3. 120), 3. कलापिन्—कालापाः (IV. 3. 108 and IV. 2. 59), 4.
कुथुमिन्—कौथुमाः (IV. 3. 101), 5. तैतिलिन्—तैतिलाः (IV. 3. 116), 6. जाजलिन्—जाजलाः
(IV. 2. 59), 7. लाङ्गुलिन्—लाङ्गुलाः, 8. शिलालिन्—शैलालाः, 9. शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डाः, 10.
मुकुरसधन्—सौकर सधाः, 11. मुपर्वन्—सौपर्वाः ॥ In the above those which end in इ॒॒, elide the इ॒॒ in spite of VI. 4. 164, and those in अन् contradict VI. 4. 167.

Vart :—अइमन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with': as, आइमः, otherwise आइमनः ॥

Vart :—Of चर्मन्, the अन् is elided when meaning 'a sheath or purse': as, चार्मः कोशः (IV. 3. 134), otherwise चार्मणः ॥

Vart :—The अन् of अन् is elided when the sense is 'to contract', as शौवः संकोचः (IV. 3. 120), otherwise शौवनः ॥

Vart :—The Indeclinables like सायंप्रातिकः &c are formed by the इ॒॒ elision : as सायंप्रातिकः, पौनः पुनिकः, बाह्यः, कौतस्कृतः (formed by इ॒॒ IV. 3. 11). But, not before the affixes अ॒॒ and अ॒॒॒, as आरातीयः, शाश्वतिकः ॥ 'Pāṇini himself' has shown the exception, in the case of 'शाश्वतिक', by using it in II. 4. 9. So also शाश्वतम् ॥

अहष्टुखोरेव ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, इ, खोः, एव ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहग्नियेतस्य टलोरेव परताटिलोपो भवति ।

वागकः ॥ अहः समूहं यो वक्तव्यः ॥

145. The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ए and ख ॥

Thus हे अहनी समाहूते = द्वयः, उथः (V. 4. 91 with उच्च). हे अहनी, अधीर्णं भूतो शुतो भावी शा = द्वयीनः, उथीनः (with ख V. 1. 87);

Vart.—ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूहः, when referring to a sacrifice. अहन् समूहः क्रतुः = अहीनः (IV. 2. 42).

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ए and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule : अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अहन् निर्वृत्तम् = आद्विकम् (with उच्च V. 1. 79). The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity. अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ए and ख, other stems also do the same. This we infer, from the exception made in the case of átman and adhván, before ख, in VI. 4. 169.

ओर्गुणः ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुणो भवति तद्विते परतः ॥

146. For उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted Guṇa, before a Taddhita affix.

Thus बाध्व्यः from बभू, माण्डव्यः from मण्डु, शङ्खव्यं लाह (from शङ्कु), पिच्चव्यः कार्पसः; (from पिञ्चु) कमण्डलव्या शृत्तक्षा (from कमण्डल), परश्वव्यमयः, औपगवः, कापटवः &c. Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओर्गान् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ', the employment of the technical phrase गुणः in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim संज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्यः "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term". The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya, and we have forms like स्वांशेभुतः from स्वांशेभुत् without guṇa. See VII. 4. 30 also.

दे लोपे उकटव्याः ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दे, लोपः, अ, कटव्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दे परत उवर्णान्तस्य भस्याकटव्या लोपो भवति ॥

147. The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (दे), but not of the stem 'Katrī'.

Thus कामण्डेलव्यः, शैतिवहेयः, जाम्बवयः, लाद्रव्यो मन्त्रमपश्यत् ॥

अस्येति ज्ञा ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्भ्य, ईति, च, (भस्य, तद्विते, लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्तस्यावर्णान्तस्य च भस्य इकारं परं तद्विते च लोपो भवति ॥

वर्णत्तकम् ॥ यस्यत्यौडः इयां प्रतिबंधा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयड़ उवर्णयां लोपो भवति विप्रतिबंधेन ॥

148. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus शक्षी, शाक्षी, सखी from शक्षि, शृक्षि and सखि with the feminine affix ई ॥

(IV. 1. 65) The above forms could also have been evolved by the simple rules of sandhi, as शक्षि + ई = शक्षी ॥ It might be asked, where was then the necessity of eliding ई ? There would arise difficulty in the forms like अति सखि ॥ From the word सखी formed by डीष् under IV. 1. 62, we form the compound सखिमतिक्रान्तः ॥ अतिसखि, the final becoming short by I. 2. 48, (the samāsānta affix ई is not added here as required by V. 4. 91, that rule applying to the masculine form, सखि and not to the feminine सखी). Now if in forming सखि + ई = सखी, had we not elided the letter ई of सखि, then the long ई being the single substitute for both ई + ई, would be considered as like the final ई of सखि by VI. 1. 85. That being so, the word अतिसखि would be considered a non-वि word by I. 4. 7, for सखि has been specifically excluded from वि class. Not being a वि, we cannot have the form अतिसखेः in the Ablative and Genitive singular. Hence the necessity of eliding ई before the feminine ई, so that the ekādeśa rule VI. 1. 85, should not apply.

The short ई is elided before Taddhita affixes :—दुलि—शौलेशः, घनि—शालेशः, अत्रि—शालेशः ॥ अ is elided before ई as :—कुमार—कुमारी, गौर—गौरी, शार्दूलव—शार्दूलवी ॥ अ and आ are elided before the Taddhita :—इक्ष—शक्षिः, सूक्ष—सूक्षिः, चूड—चौडिः, बलाका—बालाकिः, सुमित्रा—सौमित्रिः ॥

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of शौ (VII. 1. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter, and of certain feminine in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, ई and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus काण्ड + ई = काण्डे ; कुडंच ॥ सौर्य + ई = सौर्ये (the अ would have been elided by VI. 4. 149). It is owing to this Vārtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra. This may also be done by reading the anuvṛitti of श्वां (VI. 4. 136), and न (VI. 4. 137) into this sūtra.

Vart :—इयङ् and उवङ् are superseded, when they would apply simultaneously with this lopa. Thus इयङ् and उवङ् have unimpeded scope in शौ or भू + शौ or भास (जस), as श्रियौ, श्रियः, भ्रूवौ, भ्रूवः ॥ Lopa has unimpeded scope in कामण्डङ्—कामण्डलेशः (with ढम IV. 1. 135), and भाद्रवाहेशः ॥ But in वस्त्री + ढम (IV. 1. 135), both the rules VI. 4. 77 and VI. 4. 148, present themselves. The former is superseded, and we have वासप्रेशः (वस्त्रे प्रीपाति = वस्त्री, तस्यापत्ते) ; so also लैखाभ्रुः—लैखभ्रेशः with the ढक affix, this word belonging to Subhrādi class (IV. 1. 123).

सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्वमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूर्य, तिष्य, अग-
स्त्य, मत्स्यानाम्, यः, उपधायाः, (ईति, तद्धिते, लोपः) ॥
वृन्तः ॥ सूर्य तिष्य अगस्त्य मत्स्य इत्येतेषां यकाराय उपधाया गस्य लोपो भवति ईति परतस्तद्धिते च ॥
वाच्चिकम् ॥ मत्स्यस्य उघामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ सूर्यागस्ययोदछे च ढपां च ॥

वा० ॥ तिष्यपुष्ययोनंभवाणि ॥

वा० ॥ अन्तिकशास्त्रस्य तसिप्रत्येय परतः ककारादिशास्त्रस्य लोपो वक्तव्य, आगुंदानं च ॥

वा० ॥ तमे तांश्च ॥ वा० ॥ कादिलोपे बहुलमिति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ य च ॥

149. Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, आगस्त्य and मत्स्य, (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix.

Thus सूर्यैकादिक = सौरी (सूर्य + अण under IV. 3. 112 = सौर्य, then ई of दीप = सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also आगस्त्यस्यापत्यं छ्वी = आगस्ती (IV. 1. 114), आगस्तीयः; So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with छ्वाय as it belongs to Gaurādi class (IV. 1. 40). If the words सूर्य, &c, were to be qualified by the word भ, then the sūtra would mean सूर्यानां भूसंज्ञानां “of सूर्य &c, when they get the designation of भ”; and the result of this interpretation would be, that the rule would apply to cases like सूर्यस्य च्छा = सूरी, आगस्त्यस्य छ्वी = आगस्ती, &c, only, where the forms सूर्य &c, are Bha, and not to their derivatives, as सौर्य &c: and there would not have been the forms like सौरी बलाका; because, here the word सूर्य is not Bha before the affix ई, but the word सौर्य is Bha. Hence we have introduced the words “and their derivatives” in the translation, so as to cover the cases like सौरी बलाका ॥

In the last example, we again have an illustration, of the rule VI. 4. 22, which says that for purposes of asiddha the आध्य must be the same. Thus सौर्य + ई = सौर्य + अ lopa + ई = सौरी ॥ But सौर्य itself was formed by the elision of अ of सूर्य before the affix अण, thus, सूर्य + अण = सौर्य + ० + अण (last sūtra) = सौर्य ॥ But if this lopa be considered as asiddha by VI. 4. 22, then we have the following equation सौर्य + ० + अ (of अण) + ई = सौर्य + ० + ० (अ of अण being elided by VI. 4. 148) + ई ॥ Here य cannot be elided, as it is not upadhā or penultimate: because the first lopa is considered asiddha. But it is not to be so considered, as their scopes (आध्य) are different. Hence we have the elision of य by this sūtra. It should not be objected that the य here is not penultimate, but ultimate: as सौर्य + ई = सौर्य + ० + ई (अ elided by the last sūtra), and thus य is ultimate. Here, however, rule VI. 4. 22, applies. This elision of अ will be considered asiddha for the purposes of the elision of य, their scope being the same. So being considered asiddha, य still retains its designation of upadhā and is elided by the present sūtra. It should be remembered here, that we could not take help of the rule of sthanivat-bhāva, because for purposes of अलोप, that rule is set aside. See I. 1. 58.

Why do we say the penultimate य? Observe, मत्स्यचरी ॥ This word is thus formed. The affix चरट is added to मत्सी by V. 3. 53, in the sense of मत्सी भूमपूर्वा ॥ Then the मत्सी becomes masculine मत्स्य by VI. 4. 35, and we

have मस्यचर ॥ This word takes डीप् by IV. १. १५, because it is formed by an affix having an indicator इ ॥ Thus मस्यचर+ई, and the word is अ, but the य is not elided, because it is not penultimate. The य has been read for the sake of the subsequent sūtras : उपधायाः alone would have been enough for the purposes of this aphorism. The rule contained in this sūtra is rather too general ; it is limited by the following vārtikas, which enumerate the conditions under which the elision takes place.

Vart :—The य of मस्य is elided before the feminine ई only : therefore not here मस्यस्येऽ मांसं = मास्यम् ॥

Vart :—Of सूर्य and आगस्त्य before the affixes उ, and ई (of the semi-nine) : as सौरीयः, सौरी, आगस्तीयः, आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्यं चरुं निर्विपेत्, आगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV. १. ११४).

Vart :—Of तिष्य and उष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण उष्णः कालः = तैषः, पैषः, (IV. २. ३).

Vart :—Of अन्तिक before the affix तसि, the क is elided, and the word has acute on the first syllable : as, अन्तितः in अन्तितो न बूरात् (V. ४. ४५).

Vart :—Before the affix तम्, it loses the syllable तिक् as well as क, as अन्तमः or अन्तितमः, in अग्ने त्वं ना अन्तिमः अन्तितमे अवरोहति ॥

Vart :—The elision of क of अन्तिक takes place, diversely, before the second member also, as अन्तिके सीशति=अन्तिष्ठ (स changed to ष by VIII. ३. १०६)

Vart :—The elision takes place also before the affix य, as अन्तियः, this is found in the Atharva-Veda, (अन्तिके भवः, with the affix यत् IV. ४. ११०).

हलस्तद्वितस्य ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, तद्वितस्य, (य उपधायाः लोपः ईति) ॥ वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य तद्वितयकारस्य उपधाया ईति परता लोपो भवति ॥

150. The य of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

The anuvritti of “taddhita” ceases, because of its mention in the next sūtra. Hence this sūtra applies to feminine ई only. As गार्गी, वास्ती from गार्यं and वास्य ॥ Why do we say ‘when preceded by a consonant’? Observe कास्तिकी ॥ Why do we say ‘of a Taddhita’? Observe वृद्यस्य भायाम्, वैकी ॥

आपत्यस्य च तद्विते इनाति ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आपत्यस्य, च, तद्विते, इनाति (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्ययकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य तद्विते इनाकारादौ लोपो भवति ॥

151. The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्माणं समृङ् = गर्मीकम् from गार्म्य, वात्सकम् from वात्स्य (IV. 2. 37-40). Why do we say 'a Patronymic अ' ? Observe सांकाइयकः, कारिक्यत्यकः (IV. 2. 80).

The repetition of the word Taddhita indicates that the elision takes place some-times of the non-patronymic अ also, as सामी ईषः ॥

Why do we say 'not beginning with a long आ'? Observe गार्मीयणः, वात्स्यायनः ॥ The अ should be preceded by a consonant, otherwise we have कारिक्यस्यापत्यं = कारिक्यिः ॥ Why do we say 'when followed by a Taddhita affix'? Observe गार्मद्योः, वात्स्योः (before the Genitive and Locative dual affixes).

कथच्चयोश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथ, च्चयोः, च, (हलः, लौपः) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ कथ च्चित् इत्येतयोश्च परते आपत्यकारस्य हल उत्तरस्य लोपे भवति ॥

152. The अ belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix कथ, and the adverbial affix च्चित् ॥

Thus वात्सीयति or वात्सीयते गार्मीयति, or गार्मीयते ॥ So also गार्मीभूतः, वात्सीभूतः ॥ But सांकाइयायते (where अ is not Patronymic) and so also सांकाइयीभूतः; and not also in कारिक्यीयति, कारिक्यीभूतः, the अ not being preceded by a consonant.

विल्वकादिभ्यश्चस्य लुक् ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विल्वक-आदिभ्यः, छस्य, लुक् (मस्य तद्विते) ॥

वृत्तः ॥ न डादिषु विल्वाद्यः पश्यन्ते ॥ न डार्वनां कुक् अ इति कृतकुगागमा विल्वकाद्यो भवन्ति तेभ्य उत्तरस्य छस्य मस्य तद्विते परतो लुग् भवति ॥

153. The affix अ of the bha stems विल्वक &c is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The विल्व &c are a subdivision of Nāḍī class (IV. 2. 91), and the augment क is added to them by IV. 2. 91. After these words, with the augment क, the affix अ is elided. Thus विल्वा यस्यां सन्ति = विल्वकीयाः ; तस्यां भवाः (IV. 3. 53) = वैल्वकाः ॥ Similarly वैषुकीयाः—वैषुकाः, वैत्रकीयाः, वैत्रकाः, वैतस्कीयाः, वैतस्काः, वृत्तकीयाः, तार्णकाः, इक्षुकीयाः, ऐक्षुकाः, काष्ठकीयाः, काष्ठकाः, कपोतकीयाः, कपोतकाः ॥ These is shortening of the final of कुचा by the Vārtika कुञ्चा हस्तवं च ॥ कुञ्चकीयाः, क्रौञ्चकाः ॥ लुग्महणं किम्, छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्थान् कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूवितः, ॥ अन्यथा हि संनयोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये उभयोर्त्यभाव इति कुगर्षि निवृत्तेत ॥ लुग्महणं सर्वलोपो यथा स्थान् यकारमात्रस्य ना भूतः ॥

The affix अ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim :—सनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापाये (or अभावे) उभयोरस्यभावः (or अपायः), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other, disappears likewise". The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईश्च, and not merely of अ ॥

तुरिष्टुमेयस्तु ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुः, ईष, इम, ईयस्तु, (लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इष्टन् इमनिच्च ईयसुन् इत्येतु परतः त्रृशदस्य लापो भवति ॥

154. The affix त् is elided before the affixes इष्टन्, इमनिच्च and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिष्यः, विजयिष्यः, वह्निष्यः, दोहीयसी धेनुः ॥ The whole affix स् is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (॒) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules. The anuvṛitti of लुक् of the last aphorism should not be read into this, for had the elision taken place by लुक्, then the mark of the affix would also have disappeared likewise (I. 1. 63), and there would have remained no gunा in विजयिष्य and करिष्य ॥ See V. I. 122, and V. 3. 59; for these affixes. The affix इमन् has been read into this aphorism for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, there being no example of त् followed by इमन्; त् is followed by इष्ट and ईयस् by V. 3. 59.

टेः ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दं॑, (भस्य लोपः इष्टमेयस्तु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्य देलोपो भूत्वा इष्टमेयस्तु परतः ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ याविष्टव्यप्रातिपदिकस्थ कार्यं भवतीति वन्नव्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ याविष्टव्यप्रातिपदिकस्थं पुंवज्ञावरभावदिलांपयणादिप्राविन्मतोर्लुक्कनर्थमिति ॥

155. The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् follow.

Thus पदिष्यः, पदिमा, and पदीयान् from पड़, and लोपिष्य, लोपिमा and लोपीयान् from लघु ॥

Vart—The Prātipadika followed by the causative णि undergoes all the changes, as it would have undergone, had the affix इष्ट followed it. Those changes are (1) पुंवज्ञावः—the feminine noun becomes masculine: as, एनीमाच्छेष्ट = एतयति, इयतयति ॥ इष्ट belongs to तसिलादि affixes and causes masculination by VI. 3. 35, (2) रमावः—the change of क to र, as पृथुमाच्छेष्ट = प्रथयति, ग्रथयति, see VI. 4. 161. (3) दिलोपः—as, पटुमाच्छेष्ट = पटयति, लघयति by this sūtra, (4) यणादिपरम् i.e. the application of Rule VI. 4. 156, as, स्थूलमाच्छेष्ट = स्थवयति ॥ According to the school of Bhāradvāja, three more purposes are served: (5) विन् मतोर्लुक्—as स्थूलमाच्छेष्ट = बजयति, वसुमत्तमाच्छेष्ट = वसयति, see V. 3. 65. (6) कन्तिष्ठिः—the substitution of कन् for युञ्जन् and अव्य (V. 3. 64)—as युञ्जनमाच्छेष्ट = कनयति ॥ (7) प्रारं ऋ substitution, as required by VI. 4. 157: as, प्रियमाच्छेष्ट = प्रापयति ॥

स्थूलदूरयुवहस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थूलं दूरं, युव, हस्व, क्षिप्र, क्षुद्राणाम्, यण, आदिपरम, पूर्वस्य, च गुणः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ स्थूल दूर युव हस्व क्षिप्र क्षुद्र इत्यनेवां यणादिपरं लुप्यते इष्ट मयस्तु परतः, पूर्वस्य च गुणो भवति ॥

156. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Gunा is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युव, हस्व, क्षिप्र and क्षुद्र ॥

That is त्, ए, एन्, ए, ए, and ए are elided. Thus स्थविष्टः, स्थवीयान्; इविष्टः इवीयान्; इस्तिष्टः, इसीयान्; क्षेपिष्टः, क्षेपीयाम्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words प्रस्त्र, तप्र, and क्षुत्र are read in Prithvādi class and take 'imaṇ' affix (V. i. 122). क्षोशिष्टः, क्षोशयान्, क्षोशिमा ॥ Why do we say परं in योशिपरं i.e. 'the last semi-vowel'? The first semi-vowel of युत्र and इस्त्र i.e. य of यु and ए of इ should not be elided. The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness.

प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतप्रदीघवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बैहिगर्बर्षित्र ब्रदाघि—
वृन्दाः ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय, स्थिर, स्फिर, उरु, बहुल, गुरु, वृद्ध, तप्र, दीर्घ, वृन्दारकाणाम्, प्र, स्थ, स्फ, वर्, वीह, गर्, वार्ष, त्रप्, द्राघि, वृन्दाः, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥
वृन्दः ॥ प्रिय स्थिर स्फिर उरु बहुल गुरु वृद्ध तप्र वीर्घ वृन्दारक इत्यतेषां प्र स्थ स्फ वर् वार्ष त्रप्
द्राघि वृन्द इत्यते यथासंख्यमादेशा भवन्ति इष्टमेयस्सुपत्तः ॥

157. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्त the following substitutions take place:—प्र for प्रिय, स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, घर् for उरु, बहं for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्ष् for वृद्ध, त्रप् for तप्र, द्राघि for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रष्टः, प्रेमा, प्रेयान्; स्थिर, स्थंष्टः, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा; स्फिर, स्फेष्टः, स्फेयाम्; उरु, वारिष्टः, वरिमा, वरीयान्; बहुल, बंहिष्टः, बंहीयान्, बंहिमा; गुरु, गरिष्टः, गरीयान्, गरिमा; वृद्ध, वर्षिष्टः, वर्षीयान्; तप्र, त्रपिष्टः, त्रपीयान्; वीर्घ, द्राघिष्टः, द्राघीयान्, द्राघिमा; क्षुत्रारक, क्षुत्रिष्टः, क्षुत्रीयान्; प्रियोरुभु—
बहुलशीर्घाः पृष्टाशिष्टु पच्यते, तनान्यथामिमानिज् न भवतीति नौवाङ्मियते ॥

Of the above, priya, guru, guru and bahula are read in Prithvādi class and take इमन् (V. i. 122), others do not.

वहोलेपो भू च वहोः ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहोः, लोपः, भू, च, वहोः ॥
वृन्दः ॥ वहोरुच्चरणामिष्टमेयसां लोपां भवति तस्य च वहोः स्थाने भू इत्यवमादेशा भवति ॥

158. The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्त) are elided after वहु, and for वहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा ॥ In the case of इष्ट, the following rule 159 will apply. Under I. i. 54 and 67, वहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz. इ or ई; in this case. ॥ वहु belongs to Prithvādi class and takes इमन् affix. (V. i. 122) The repetition of वहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthāni, for which the word भू is to be substituted: otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes.

इष्टस्य यिद् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इष्टस्य, यिद्, च, (वहोः भू च वहोः) ॥
वृन्दः ॥ वहोरुत्तस्य इष्टस्थ यिद्वागमो भवति वहोश्च भूरादेशो भवति ॥

159. After वहु, the augment यिद् is added to इष्ट, and भू replaces वहु ॥

As भूयिष्टः ॥ This augment यिद् debars the lopā substitution, of the last sūtra, in the case of इष्ट ॥ The इ in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the

augment being अ॒॥ Or इष्ट may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the ग्, the augment श्व may be added.

ज्यादादीयसः ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्यात्, आत्, ईयसः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्यादुत्तरस्य ईयस आकार अनुदेशो भवति ॥

160. आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस्, after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायात् ॥ ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V. 3. 61. ‘Lopa⁴ being shut out by the intervening विद् VI. 4. 159, the आत् is read in this sūtra. If the anuvṛtti of ‘lopa’ were present here, then the अ of ज्य would be lengthened before इस् by VII. 4. 25; and we would get the form ज्यायात् ॥ The peculiar construction of this sūtra indicates the existence of the following maxim:—अनुवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्ताविधिः ‘when an operation which is taught in the aṅgādhikāra (VI. 4, end—VII. 4, end) has taken place, and another operation of the aṅgādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place.’ In VII. 4. 25, however, क्रिडत् is understood, and lengthening could not have taken place by that rule.

र अहो हलादेर्लघोः ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ र, अहतः, हल, आदेः, लघोः, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ रसाद्य आदेशो भवति क्षकारस्य हलादिर्लघोरिष्टमेयस्सु परतः ॥

Kārikā पृथुं शृङ्गं शृणं चैव कृष्णं च दृष्टमेव च ।

परिपूर्वं वृत्तं चैव पडेतात् रविधी स्मरेत् ॥

161. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, र is substituted for the अह in a stem, when this अह is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant).

Thus प्रथिष्ठः, प्रथीयात् and प्रथिमा from पृथु (V. 1. 122), प्रशिष्ठः, प्रशीयात् and प्रशिमा ॥ Why do we say ‘the अह’? Observe पटिष्ठः &c. Why do we say ‘preceded by a consonant’? Observe क्षजिष्ठः, क्षजीयात् ॥ Why do we say ‘when prosodically short’? Observe कृष्णिष्ठः, कृष्णीयात्, कृष्णिमा ॥ The following are the six words to which this rule applies and to none else:—पृथु, शृङ्ग, शृण, कृष्ण, दृढ, परिवृत्त ॥ It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत्, मातृ, आत्, &c, as कृतमात्वे = कृतयत्, मातरमात्वे = मातयति, आतरमात्वे = भातयति ॥

विभाषजोऽश्छन्दसि ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अहजोः, छन्दसि, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ अहु इत्येतत्स्य अहतः स्थाने विभाषा रेक आदेशो भवति इष्टमेयस्सु पंतश्छन्दसि विषयं ॥

162. Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, the अह of अहजु may optionally be changed to र, in the Chhāndas.

As रजिष्ठः and क्षजिष्ठः, in रजिष्ठमेति पञ्चानम्, त्वभृजिष्ठः ॥

प्रकृत्यैकाच् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकृत्यां, एक-अच्, (इष्टमेयस्सु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाङ्ग यज्ञसज्जकं तदिष्टेमेयस्तु परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रकृत्या इके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवानः ॥

163. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन्, and इयस्त् ॥

Thus सज्जिष्टः, सज्जीयान्, सज्जयते from स्वग्निन्, the विन् being elided by V. 3 65, the stem thus becoming monosyllabic. सज्जयते is the causative, formed on the model of इष्ट by the Vārtika under VI. 4. 155. So also सुचिष्टः, सुचीयान् and सुचयते from सुश्वत्, the मत्प् being elided as before. Why do we say 'a mono syllabic stem'? Observe वसिष्टः from वसुमत् ॥ This rule is an exception to VI. 4. 155.

Vartः—राजन्य, मनुष्य and युवन् retain their original form unchanged before the affix अक् ॥ As, राजन्यानां समूहः = राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥ This debars the elision of य required by VI. 4. 151. So युवान् भवतः = यौवानेकः with द्वय् affix (V. 1. 133), in supersession of VI. 4. 144.

इन्द्रयनपत्ये ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्, अणि, अ नपत्ये, (प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रनपत्यार्थेण परतः प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

164. The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Thus सांकृटिनम्, सांराविनम्, सांमार्जिनम् (III. 3. 44 and V. 4. 15). These are formed by the Kṛit-affix इनुष् (III. 3. 44), and then अण् is added in स्वार्थ by V. 4. 15. So also सांविनम् from स्वग्निन् ॥ Why 'when अण् follows'? Observe हण्डिनां समूहः = सांद्रेनम् ॥ It is formed by अण् (IV. 2. 44). Why do we say 'non-Patronymic'? Observe मेधाविनाऽपत्यं = मैधावः ॥

गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाथि, विदथि, केशि, गणि,
पणिनः, च, (अणिप्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ गाथिपत् विदथिन् केशिन् गणिन् पणिन् इत्येते चाणि प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

165. गाथिन्, विदथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also.

Thus गाथिनाऽपत्यं = गाथिनः, विदथिनः, केशिनः, गणिनः, and पणिनः ॥ This sūtra applies to Patronymics.

संयोगादिश्च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संयोग- अप्तिः, च, (इन् अणि प्रकृत्या) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ संयोगादिश्च इन्णि प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

166. The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण्, when a conjunct consonant precedes it.

Thus शाङ्किनाऽपत्यं शाङ्किनः, याद्विणः, वृांजणः ॥

अन्, ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्, (अणि प्रकृत्या') ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रन्तमणि प्रकृत्या भवति अपत्ये चानपत्ये वा ॥

167. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise.

As सामनः, वेमनः, सौख्यनः, जैत्यनः, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुख्यन् and जित्यन्.

ये चाभावकर्मणोः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ये, च, अभाव, कर्मणोः, (तद्दिते अन् प्रकृत्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारारौ च तद्दिते भावकर्मणोर्योरन् प्रकृत्या भवति ॥

168. The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one.

Thus सामसु साप्तुः = सामन्यः, आद्यायः ॥ But रात्मो भावः क्रम वा = रात्यम् ॥ रात्यम् belongs to Purohitādi class and takes वक् (V. I. 128).

आत्माध्वानौ खे ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्म, अध्वानौ, खे, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आत्मन् अध्वन् इत्यतौ खे परतः प्रकृत्या भवतः ॥

169. The finals of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix खे ॥

Thus आत्मने हितं = आत्मनीनः (V. I. 9), अध्वानमलङ्घामी (V. 2. 16) = अध्वनीनः ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsanta affix टच् added to the avyayibhāva (V. 4. 108), and the latter by भच् (V. 4. 85).

न मपूर्वोऽपत्ये ऽवर्मणः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, म, पूर्वः, अपत्ये, अवर्मणः, (अणि) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ मपूर्वोऽन् अवर्मणोणि परतोऽपत्येर्ये न प्रकृत्या भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मपूर्वप्रतिवर्षेषु वा हितनाम्न इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

170. In a stem in अन् with a preceding म, —with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus सुषाम्णोऽपत्यं = सौषामः, चान्द्रसामः from चन्द्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म'? Observe सौख्यन्, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमणि परिवत्ता रथः = चामणि, the अन् not being changed by VI. 1. 167. Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्'? Observe चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्यं = चाक्रवर्मणः ॥

Vārt :—Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्णोऽपत्यं = हेतनामः or हेतनामनः ॥

आह्नो जातौ ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आह्नः, अजातौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्य इत्यतशपत्याभिकारंभि सामर्थ्या दप्त्यादन्यव्राणि टेलोपार्ये निपात्यते ततोऽजातौ अपत्ये व
अपत्ये जाताशणि व्याप्तिश्लोपो न भवति ॥

171. ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a kind or jāti.'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्मः, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्मो गर्भः, ब्राह्म हविः, ब्राह्ममस्त्रः; ब्राह्मो नारशः || (2) अजाती, but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti; for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix: as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्यं = ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana'. When jāti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी चौषधिः॥

कार्मस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कार्मः ताच्छील्ये, ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ कार्म इति ताच्छील्यं दिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

172. कार्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or prompt therein'.

This is formed by ण affix (IV. 4. 62). If this is the case, then by VI. 4. 144, the form कार्म is regularly evolved. The fact is, that ण and अण् affixes, in the sense of tāchchhīlīka are considered as one, and therefore VI. 4. 167, would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim:—ताच्छीलिकं णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one, accustomed to that." Thus though डीप् is added, to अण्- formed words, it is also added to ण-formed words, in the feminine: as चौरी; तापसी &c. The ण taught in V. 2. 101, and III. 1. 140, is excepted. Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that? Observe कर्मणः इष्टम् = कार्मणम् ॥

औक्षमनपत्ये ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ औक्षम्, अ नपत्ये ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ औक्षमिथेनपत्येण दिलोपो निपात्यते ॥

173. From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant.

As औक्षं पट्ट, but औक्षणः = उक्षणोऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided in the latter example by VI. 4. 135.

दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकैज्ञाशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यैवत्यसारवै-
क्षवाक्मैत्रेयहिरण्मर्यानि ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाण्डिनायन, हास्तिनायन, आथर्वणिक,
जैज्ञाशिनेय, वासिनायनि, भ्रौणहत्य, धैवत्य, सारव, पेशवाक, मैत्रेय, हिरण्मर्यानि, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायन आथर्वणिक जैज्ञाशिनेय वासिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारव एशवाक
मैत्रेय हिरण्मर्य इत्येतानि निपात्यते ॥

174. The following are irregularly formed; 1.

Dāṇḍināyana, 2. Hāstinyāya, 3. Ātharvaṇīka, 4. Jaihmāśineya, 5. Vāsināyani, 6. Bhrauṇahatya, 7. Dhaivatya. 8. Sārava, 9. Aikshvāka, 10. Maitreya and 11. Hīraṇmaya.

These words are thus derived (1 and 2) साण्डिनायन and हस्तिनायन from शण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडाइ class. The affix is एक् (IV. 2. 91). If they do not belong to that class, the affix is added irregularly: शण्डिनोऽपत्यं = साण्डिनायनः &c. The final इन् is not elided. (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantādi class (IV. 2. 63). The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan. He who studies that work is called Atharvaṇīka: the final is not elided before the एक् affix. (4 and 5) The descendants of जिद्धाशन् and वासन् are Jaihmāśineya and Vāsināyani, the former with the affix एक् of the Sublitrādi class (IV. 1. 123), and the latter with the affix फिर् of IV. 1. 157. The finals of the stems are not dropped. (6 and 7) These are derived from भूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix अभ्, and न् being replaced by त = भूणद्वा भावः, धीव्वा भावः ॥ हन् takes त before affixes having an indicatory ण or अ by VII. 3. 2? it might be said त would be added to भूणहन् before अभ् by that rule. That rule is, however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes. That rule does not apply to cases like औणग्नी, वाच्रप्तः ॥ The त in Bhrauṇhatya is therefore, an irregularity. (8) सारव is from सरव् with the affix अण्, the final अव् being elided, सरवां भवः = सारवमुदकं ॥ (9) The son of ईश्वाकु, with अभ् affix (IV. 1. 168), the final उ is elided, or ईश्वाकुषु जनपदेषु भवः = ऐश्वाकः with अण् affix (IV. 2. 132). Accent on the first or the final. The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐश्वाकः and the other ईश्वाकः, the sūtra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking. The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sūtra gives ऐश्वाक without any accent (eka-śruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुतिः स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grishtyādi class IV. 1. 136, and takes एव् as. मित्रयु + एव्, here VI. 4. 146, requires Guṇa, but VI. 4. 146 prevents it, and requires lopā of उ, but VII. 3. 2, required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेयः the उ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI. 4. 148, before एव्, as the lopa of यु is considered asiddha VI. 4. 22; however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI. 1. 97; the single substitute being the form of the subsequent. The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयवः (the plural of मित्रयु); as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the plural (II. 4. 63). Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII. 3. 2. It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidādi class (IV. 4. 104), it would have taken the affix अभ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly: as मित्रयु + अभ् = मित्र + इय (VII. 3. 2) + अ = मैत्रेयः ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II. 4.

63), for then by II. 4. 63, अभ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रवदः in the plural. So far it would have been all right, but if वेदव् were to be formed with अभ् affix, as proposed, then the लभ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अभ् affix under IV. 3. 127, and not with इम् under IV. 3. 126; but we require इम्, as वेदवः लभः ॥ (ii) हिरण्यव from हिरण्य with मवद् with the elision of व, हिरण्यस्य निपात्ति = हिरण्यमः ॥

प्रात्ययवासस्त्वयास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानिष्ठन्दसि ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रात्यय,
वासस्त्व, वास्त्व, माध्वी, हिरण्ययानि, छन्दसि, ॥

यत्ति ॥ एतत्वं वासस्त्वं वास्त्वं माध्वीं हिरण्यय इत्यतानि निपात्तन्ते छन्दति विषये ॥

175. In the Veda the following are irregularly formed : Ritvya, Vastvya Vâstva, Mâdhvî, and Hiranyaya.

The word वास्त्व is derived from वासु, and वासस्त्व from वासु with the affix त्व, त being changed to व ॥ एतौ भवत् = एतत्वम्, वास्तौ भवत् = वासस्त्वम् ॥ वास्त्व is from वासु, as वासुनि भवः = वास्त्वः with the affix भव् ॥ माध्वी from मध् with the affix वी in the feminine, as माध्वीनः सन्त्वोषधीः ॥ हिरण्यव is from हिरण्य with the affix वद्, the व being elided.

